Illuminated Manuscript Production in Medieval Iceland

Literary and Artistic Activities of the Monastery at Helgafell in the Fourteenth Century

Stefan Drechsler

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Helene and Björn

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Notes on Terminology, Abbreviations, and Images

Names of historical persons are written in normalized Old Norse-Icelandic spelling, apart from Icelandic scholars whose names are spelled in Modern Icelandic. Similarly, all place names are written in Modern Icelandic.

The ligature '&' is used only in relation to fragments that once belonged to the same codex.

If not otherwise stated, the dating of manuscripts and fragments in the captions is indicated by the completion of their book painting, not their writing. The usage of this date system is necessary to indicate the completion of the book painting in contrast to the writing stages.

Line numbers of manuscript texts and size of initials are identified in superscript recto and verso folio designations, which follow the folio number(s).

Due to their numerous mentions, manuscripts and fragments with the following shelf marks are not always identified as belonging to particular institutions or archives in the main text. Depending upon how immediate the context, abbreviations are given in the first instance of occurrence of manuscripts.

Abbreviations of Example Manuscripts in Frequently Quoted Places/Repositories

DAM, AM 233 a fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol.
SÁM, AM 239 fol.	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 239 fol.
LBS, JS fragm 14	Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands, JS fragm 14
KB, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5	Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5
BL, Stowe MS 12 (Stowe Breviary)	London, British Library, Stowe MS 12 (Stowe Breviary)

Finally, due to their often dark colouring, images of medieval Scandinavian manuscripts have been altered to improve their textual, iconographic, and/or stylistic content.

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The Helgafell Manuscripts

Throughout the Middle Ages, Iceland was home to a dynamic society with a strong interest in the production and dissemination of vernacular and Latin manuscripts. A total of 750 Old Norse manuscripts are known from this period, 300 of which are dated to the fourteenth century alone.[1] Although no reliable statistics exist on the number of Latin manuscripts produced in medieval Iceland, a total of 218 fragments are known from Scandinavia, most of which originate from Icelandic scriptoria.[2] The fourteenth century was undoubtedly the golden age of Icelandic manuscript production, which also saw a rising interest in historiated book painting.[3] The Helgafell group, possibly the most impressive group of vernacular Icelandic manuscripts from the fourteenth century, is the main subject of this book. The group has been assumed to derive from an ecclesiastical workshop once situated on the Snæfellsnes peninsula in western Iceland, where an Augustinian house of canons regular was established following the congregation's relocation in 1184 or 1185.[4] This book will provide further evidence for this assertion. At the same time, it will show that a classical centre for book production is not what is reflected in the Helgafell productions, as has been assumed in the past.[5] Generally, the nature and organization of the Helgafell scriptorium has scarcely been examined. Major centres for book production known from Anglo-Saxon England, for example, are little comparable in this regard. Here, the needs of local parish churches and aristocratic clients are largely supplied by a single workshop, and its commitment to organize and execute the production of holographic and composite manuscripts verified.[6] Rather, the Helgafell scriptorium was an open workshop, where scribes and illuminators worked in various combinations on the manuscripts and an exchange of texts and images with other local scriptoria took place.[7] Overall, this book demonstrates that the working modes of scribes and illuminators in medieval Iceland are much more interregional and international than has previously been suggested.

In recent decades, a considerable amount of research has been dedicated to medieval Icelandic manuscripts. Substantial efforts have been made to determine their sites of production, and to group manuscripts and fragments according to their internal palaeographic and textual relationships.[8] The Helgafell group is reckoned among the oldest group of Icelandic manuscripts, dated to the fourteenth century, and consists of two main scribes, H Hel 1 and H Hel 2. During *c*. 1350–90, sixteen scribes and seven illuminators worked together with one or both main scribes and contributed to a multitude of manuscripts and fragments linked to the workshop. This book provides evidence for one main scribe (H Hel 1) working at Helgafell in collaboration with six minor scribes in the fourteenth century and concludes that the other scribe (H Hel 2) did not work at Helgafell at all. Rather, there are indications that this scribe worked in the vicinity of the monastery, potentially at a secular estate at Skarð á Skarðströnd to the north of Helgafell.

1 Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Manuscripts and Paleography', p. 249. For vernacular fragments in Iceland, see Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Brot íslenskra miðaldahandrita', pp. 123–37.

2 Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Handrit á látinu', as well as Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Latin Fragments', pp. 172–73. For the techniques of recognizing Icelandic Latin-based manuscripts, see Ommundsen and Attinger, 'Icelandic Liturgical Books', pp. 299–317; Attinger, 'Iceland and Norway'; and Kyrkjebø, 'Norsk eller islandsk skrivar i mellomalderhandskrift'.

3 Gunnar Karlsson, *Iceland's 1100 Years*, pp. 188–205. Historiated book painting refers to images that directly or indirectly relate to the manuscript text of which the illumination acts as the initial letter. See Jakobi-Mirwald, *Buchmalerei*, p. 60.

4 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*; Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir, *Leitin að klaustrunum*, pp. 229–68; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Voru scriptoria í íslenskum klaustrum?', p. 184; Janus Jónsson, 'Um klaustrin á Íslandi', pp. 227–36; Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*; Cormack, 'Monastic Foundations', pp. 70–73. On the Augustinian house of canons regular at Helgafell, see Chapter 2.

5 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 41–45, 48–49, and 57, argued that scribes at Helgafell worked side-by-side.

6 For this, see Gameson, 'Anglo-Saxon Scribes and Scriptoria', pp. 102–07.

7 For a description of an open scriptorium, see Michael, 'Oxford, Cambridge and London'. See also Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 133–38.

8 For overviews of research on medieval Icelandic manuscript groups and scriptoria, see Sverrir Tómasson, 'The History of Old Nordic Manuscripts', pp. 796–99, and Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Voru scriptoria í íslenskum klaustrum?', pp. 186–94, with further references.

Table 1. The Helgafell manuscripts and fragments. Manuscripts and fragments that were likely written outside of Helgafell are underlined.

Shelf Mark and Name	Collection	No. of Folios	Hands (H)	Illuminators (A)	Main Content	Date	Cols	Lines	Size (max.)
AM 233 a fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arna-magnæanske Samling	14	H Hel 1 (ff. 1^{v}–12^{v}, ff. 28^{ra}–29^{vb})	A Hel 2 (ff. 1^{va}–12^{vb}, ff. 28^{ra}–29^{vb}); A Hel 3 (f. 1^{r})	*Heilagra manna sögur*	1350–60[9]	2	47	385 × 320 mm
		13	H Hel 2 (ff. 15^{va}–27^{vb})		*Heilagra meyjar sögur*	1370–75[10]			
AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	142	H Hel 1 (ff. 1^{va}–17^{vb}, ff. 24^{ra}–150^{va}), H Hel 3 (in the margins of f. 36^{r}, f. 56^{v} and f. 57^{r})	A Hel 1 (the 'Helgafell Master', ff. 1^{va}–17^{vb}, ff. 24^{ra}–150^{va})	*Jónsbók*, Hirðskrá, Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar, Réttarbætr, Saktal Jónsbókar, Sáttargerð í Túnsberg, Statutes	1363[11]	2	28	364 × 273 mm
		6	Unknown (ff. 18^{ra}–23^{vb})	Unknown	*Jónsbók*	1500–50[12]			
		1 ¼	Unknown (ff. 150^{vb}–151^{v})	None	*Lagaformálar*	1500[13]	Various	Various	
		4	Unknown (ff. 152^{ra}–156^{va})	Unknown	*Efnisýfirlit*	1500–25[14]	2	29	
		Note	Unknown (f. 157^{v})	None	*Formáli um syndaaflausn*	1500[15]	None	None	
AM 226 fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arna-magnæanske Samling	61	H Hel 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–61^{vb})	Magnús Þórhallsson (ff. 1^{ra}–61^{vb})	*Stjórn* I	1360–70[16]	2	47–48	377 × 290 mm
		8	Unknown (ff. 62^{va}–69^{vb})	None	*Stjórn* II	1450–1500[17]		47	
		89	H Hel 1 (ff. 70^{ra}–158^{rb}), H Hel 4 (f. $117^{rb1–8}$)	Magnús Þórhallsson (ff. 70^{ra}–158^{rb})	*Stjórn* III, *Rómverja saga*, *Alexanders saga*, *Gyðinga saga*	1350–60[18]		47–48	
AM 239 fol.	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	½	H Hel 10 (f. 1^{r}), further hands	None	List of Contents	1400[19]	Various	None	300 × 202 mm
		34 ½	H Hel 1 (ff. 1^{v}–35^{v})	A Hel 2 (ff. 1^{v}–35^{v}); A Hel 8 (f. 1^{v})	*Heilagra manna sögur*, *Viðræður Gregoríusar*	1360–70[20]		32–33	
		34	H Hel 7 (ff. 36^{r}–85^{v}, ff. 96^{r}–109^{v})[21]	A Hel 6 (ff. 36^{r}–85^{v}, ff. 96^{r}–109^{v})		1350–1400[22]		35	
<u>MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5</u>	Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket	47	H Bar 6 (ff. 1^{v}–48^{ras}), H Isl 7 (rubrics on ff. 1^{v}–48^{r})	A Hel 6 (f. 1^{r}, ff. 48^{r}–68^{v})	*Byskupa sögur*	1347–60[23]	2	42	275 × 220 mm
		19 ½	H Isl 1 (f. $48^{ra7–rb}$), H Isl 2 (ff. 48^{v}–64^{r}), H Hel 1 (f. 54^{ra23}, f. $57^{ra5–8}$), H Isl 3 (ff. 64^{v}–68^{vb31}), H Isl 6 (rubrics on ff. 48^{v}–68^{v})			1360–70[24]		40	
		3	H Isl 4 (ff. 68^{vb32}–71^{r}), H Isl 5 (f. $70^{ra1–3}$)	None		1360–70[25]			
AM 325 X 4to & AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to	Copenhagen, Den Arna-magnæanske Samling	15	H Hel 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–15^{vb})	H Hel 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–15^{vb})	*Konunga sögur*	1370[26]	2	34	300 × 220 mm
<u>MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34</u>	Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket	6 ½	Hand d (ff. 1^{r}–7^{r7})	None	*Kristinn réttr hinn nýi* (*Gulaþingslǫg*)	1350–1400[27]	1	26–28	248 × 182 mm
		½	Hand e (f. 7^{v})		On the importance of Eden and on perjury (excerpt), oaths	1400[28]	1	24	
		83	Eiríkr Þrónðarson (ff. 8^{r}–90^{r})	Otherwise unknown	*Frostuþingslog Landslaganna*, *Bæjarbok Bjǫrgvinjar*, *Farmannalǫg*	1275–1300[29]	1	28	
		37	H Hel 1 (ff. 91^{ra}–128^{ra}), H Hel 14 (rubrics)	H Hel 1 (ff. 91^{ra}–128^{ra})	*Réttarbætr*, *Hirðskrá*	1370[30]	2	32	

AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	84	H Hel 8 (ff. 1^{ra}–84^{vb}); H Hel 9 (ff. 27^{rb}–84^{vb})	A Hel 8 (ff. 1^{v}–84^{v})	*Jónsbók*, *Kristinna laga þáttr*, Statutes	1350[31]	2	32	273 × 290 mm
		10	H Hel 8 (ff. 85^{ra}–94^{va})	None		1360–70[32]			
		4	H Hel 1 (ff. 94^{vb}–98^{vb})	H Hel 1 (ff. 94^{vb}–98^{vb})	Statutes	1370[33]			
AM 219 fol., JS fragm 5, Lbs fragm 6, Þjms 176, & SÁM 2	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Landsbókasafn Íslands, and Þjóðminjasafn Íslands	17	H Hel 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–17^{vb})	H Hel 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–17^{vb})	*Byskupa sögur*	1370–80[34]	2	38	325 × 232 mm
AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi)	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	4	H Hel 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–4^{vb})	H Hel 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–4^{vb})	*Óláfs saga helga*	1370–90[35]	2	34	285 × 213 mm
AM 383 IV 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	4	H Hel 1 (ff. 1^{r}–4^{v})	H Hel 1 (ff. 1^{r}–4^{v})	*Þorláks saga* helga, *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups hin elsta*	1370–90[36]	1	23	180 × 138 mm
AM 61 fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	109	H Hel 2 (ff. 1^{ra}–109^{vb})	None	*Konunga sögur*	1350[37]	2	38	321 × 230 mm
		24	Unknown (ff. 110^{ra}–133^{rb})	None	*Óláfs saga helga*	1400–50[38]		44–48	

(Table continued overleaf)

9 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
10 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 32 and 18; Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna', pp. 218–19.
11 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 284–85.
12 Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Skarðsbók — uppruni og ferill', pp. 20 and 23.
13 Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Skarðsbók — uppruni og ferill', p. 20.
14 Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Skarðsbók — uppruni og ferill', p. 20.
15 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 285.
16 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
17 Kirby, *Bible Translation*, p. 56.
18 *Gyðinga saga*, ed. by Wolf, p. xvii.
19 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 40.
20 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
21 Folios 86–95 in AM 239 fol. are later additions dated to the seventeenth century. For this, see Chapter 3.
22 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 206.
23 *Byskupa sǫgur* (1950), ed. by Jón Helgason, p. 9.
24 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 46.
25 *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, pp. 135 and 179.
26 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
27 Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', p. 348.
28 *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, p. 668.
29 *Katalog*, ed. by Gödel, p. 97.
30 Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', p. 348; *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
31 Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande', pp. 167 and 179.
32 Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande', pp. 167 and 179.
33 Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande', pp. 167 and 179.
34 Stefán Karlsson, pers. comm., 1979; *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 11 and 21; Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', p. 348; *Skrá um skinnblöð*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, p. 2; Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Skarðsbók — uppruni og ferill', p. 19.
35 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
36 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
37 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 22 and 18.
38 *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. 22.

Table 1. The Helgafell manuscripts and fragments *(cont.)*

Shelf Mark and Name	Collection	No. of Folios	Hands (H)	Illuminators (A)	Main Content	Date	Cols	Lines	Size (max.)
AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum and Landsbókasafn Íslands	11	H Hel 2 (ff. 1^{r}–11^{v})	A Hel 7 (ff. 1^{r}–11^{v})	*Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*	1350[39]	1	30	250 × 190 mm
AM 156 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	79	H Hel 2 (ff. 1^{r}–79^{v})	None	*Jónsbók*	1350–60[40]	1	24–25	178 × 136 mm
AM 238 VII fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	1	H Hel 2 (f. $1^{r–b}$)	None	*Silvesters saga*	1360[41]	2	36	265 × 177 mm
SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	½	H Ska 1 (f. $1^{ra1–18}$), H Ska 2 (f. $1^{rb19–27}$)	None	*Máldagar*	1507–33[42]	None	Various	412 × 273 mm
		80 ½	H Hel 2 (ff. 1^{va}–81^{vb})	A Hel 5 (ff. 1^{va}–81^{vb})	*Postula sögur*	1360–70[43]	2	38	
		12	H Hel 3 (ff. 82^{ra}–83^{ra3}), H Hel 11 (ff. 83^{ra4}–94^{va})	H Hel 3 (f. 82^{r}), A Hel 5 (ff. 83^{ra}–94^{va})		1360–70[44]			
		1 ½	H Ska 3 (f. $94^{vb1–48}$), H Ska 4 (f. $94^{vb48–56}$), Eilífr (f. 95^{r})	None	*Máldagi*	1401[45]		Various	

Table 2. The Helgafell network (philology). Palaeographically related fragments and manuscripts are underlined. All other fragments and manuscripts are related to the Helgafell group on a textual basis.

Shelf Mark and Name	Collection	No. of Folios	Hand (H)	Illuminator (A)	Main Content	Date	Cols	Lines	Size (max.)
AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	89	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{va}–89^{vb})	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{va}–89^{vb})	*Jónsbók*	1330–40[46]	2	28	278 × 195 mm
AM 325 XI 2 o 4to & AM 325 XI 2 p 4to	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	2	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{ra}–2^{vb})	None	*Óláfs saga helga*	1350–1400[47]	1	Unknown	225 × 180 mm
AM 229 III fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	1	Otherwise unknown (f. $1^{ra–vb}$)	None	*Stjórn*	1350–1400[48]	2	34	266 × 210 mm
AM 53 fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	72	H Res 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–72^{vb})	None	*Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*	1375–1400[49]	2	40	290 × 225 mm
AM 139 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	71	Magnús Þórhallsson (ff. 1^{r}–71^{v})	Magnús Þórhallsson (ff. 1^{r}–71^{v})	*Jónsbók*	1400[50]	1	26	235 × 170 mm
AM 194 8vo	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	52	Óláfr Ormsson (ff. 1^{r}–52^{v})	None	*Alfræði Íslenzk*	1387[51]	1	22	140 × 107 mm
AM 225 fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	138	H Hel 5 (ff. 1^{va}–138^{vb})	A Hel 4 (ff. 1^{va}–138^{vb})	*Stjórn, Rómverja saga, Breta sögur, Gyðinga saga*	1400[52]	2	57	386 × 260 mm
GKS 1008 fol. (Tómasskinna)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	166	H Tóm 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–166^{vb})	None	*Thomas saga Erkibyskups, Óláfs saga helga*	1400[53]	1	30	283 × 205 mm
AM 325 XI 2 d 4to	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	1	H Res 1 (f. $1^{r–b}$)	None	*Óláfs saga helga*	1400[54]	2	36	239 × 208 mm

Table 3. The Helgafell network (art history).

Shelf Mark and Name	Collection	No. of Folios	Hand (H)	Illuminator (A)	Main Content	Date	Cols	Lines	Size (max.)
GKS 3269 b 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	61 ¾	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{va}–62^{va21})	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{va}–62^{va})	*Jónsbók*, *Réttarbætr*	1330–40[55]	2	28	300 × 220 mm
		4	Otherwise unknown (ff. 62^{va22}–66^{va})	None	*Réttarbætr*, *Statutum Innócentíuss pápa*	1350–1400[56]			
		¼	Otherwise unknown (f. 66^{vb})		*Gamli sáttmáli*	1500[57]		34	
GKS 3268 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	98	H Ská 1 (ff. 1^{r}–38^{r}), H Ská 2 (ff. 38^{v}–98^{v})	A Ská 1 (ff. 1^{r}–98^{v}), A Ska 3 (ff. 1^{r}–98^{v})	*Jónsbók*	1350[58]	1	20	240 × 198 mm
GKS 3270 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	129	H Ská 1 (ff. 1^{va}–129^{vb})	A Ská 2 (ff. 1^{va}–129^{vb}), A Ská 3 (ff. 1^{va}–129^{vb})	*Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar*, John 8. 12–20, *Jónsbók*, *Réttarbætr*, *Skipan Vilhjálms kardinála*, *Statutum Innócentíuss pápa*, *Hirðskrá*	1350[59]	2	24	160 × 192 mm
AM 240 IX fol., AM 240 VIII fol., & Lbs fragm 4	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, and Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands	15	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{va}–15^{vb})	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{va}–15^{vb})	*Maríu saga*	1350–1400[60]	2	51	320 × 210 mm
AM 168 a 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	62	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{r}–62^{v})	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{r}–62^{v})	*Jónsbók*	1360[61]	1	26	227 × 150 mm

(Table continued overleaf)

39 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 22 and 18; Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna', pp. 218–19.
40 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 22 and 18; Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna', pp. 218–19.
41 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 22 and 18; Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna', pp. 218–19.
42 *Codex Scardensis*, ed. by Slay, pp. 11–12.
43 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 18; Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna', pp. 218–19.
44 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 18; Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna', pp. 218–19.
45 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 655.
46 *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xliv.
47 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21; *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 965.
48 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
49 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 566; *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 1005.
50 Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu', pp. 287–88.
51 *Alfræði íslenzk*, ed. by Kålund, p. ii.
52 *Heilagra Manna Søgur*, ed. by Unger, I, p. xxiii; Tveitane, *Den lærde stil*, p. 14.
53 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 18.
54 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 37 and 566.
55 *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xli.
56 *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, p. 408.
57 *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, p. 408.
58 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
59 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
60 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21; *Skrá um skinnblöð*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, p. 2.
61 *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xli; AM 168 b 4to once belonged to the same codex as AM 168 a 4to; see *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, II, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 171.

Table 3. The Helgafell network (art history) *(cont.)*.

Shelf Mark and Name	Collection	No. of Folios	Hand (H)	Illuminator (A)	Main Content	Date	Cols	Lines	Size (max.)
AM 168 b 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	11	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{r}–11^{v})	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{r}–11^{v})	*Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar*	1300–1400[62]	1	26	227 × 150 mm
		3 ½	Bjarni Narfason (?) (ff. 12^{r}–15^{r3}, f. 15^{v})	None	*Gamli sáttmáli, Reglugerð Magnúsar byskups* (1479)	1475–1500[63]	1	33–37	
		½	Unknown (f. $15^{r3–30}$)	None	*Réttarbót Hákonar konungs*	1475–1500[64]	Various	Various	
AM 653 b I 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	2	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{r}–2^{v})	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{r}–2^{v})	*Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*	1350–1400[65]	1	33	253 × 170 mm
AM 653 b II 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	2	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{r}–2^{v})	Otherwise unknown (ff. 1^{r}–2^{v})	*Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*	1350–1400[66]	1	34	253 × 170 mm
GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	202	Jón Þórðarson (ff. 4^{va}– 27^{v}, f. $27^{va60–vb9}$, ff. 27^{vb17}–36^{vb41}, ff. 36^{vb45}–108^{rb26}, ff. 108^{r29}–110^{rb13}, f. $110^{rb22–vb22}$, ff. 110^{vb31}–111^{ra6}, f. $111^{ra17–rb28}$, ff. 111^{ra36}–134^{va60}), H Við 1 (f. $108^{rb7–28}$), H Við 2 (f. $110^{rb13–22}$, f. $110^{vb22–31}$, f. $111^{ra6–17}$, f. $111^{rb29–36}$), Magnús Þórhallsson (ff. 1^{r}–4^{rb}, f. $27^{va59–60}$, f. $27^{vb9–17}$, f. $36^{vb41–44}$, ff. 134^{va61}–187^{vb}, ff. 211^{ra}–225^{va}), H Hel 6 (f. $2^{rb34–39}$)	Magnús Þórhallsson (ff. 1^{r}–187^{vb}, ff. 211^{ra}–225^{va})	*Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar, Óláfs saga helga, Sverris saga, Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*	1387–94[67]	2	60–61	420 × 290 mm
		23	Hand A (ff. 188^{ra}–195^{rb13}, f. $195^{rb18–vb17}$, ff. 195^{vb23}–197^{ra8}, f. $197^{ra13–va54}$, ff. 197^{vb}–198^{vb43}, f. $198^{va48–vb60}$, f. $199^{ra–va8}$, f. $199^{va18–vb6}$, ff. 199^{vb11}–200^{ra3}, f. $200^{ra7–64}$, f. $200^{rb–va52}$, ff. 200^{va58}–203^{vb55}, f. $204^{ra4–8}$, f. $204^{r56–64}$), Hand B (f. $198^{va44–47}$, f. $199^{va9–17}$, f. $199^{vb7–10}$, f. $200^{ra65–70}$, f. $204^{ra9–55}$, f. $204^{ra65–rb15}$, f. $204^{rb18–71}$, f. $204^{va1–26}$, f. $204^{va29–32}$, ff. 204^{va38}–205^{ra67}, f. $205^{rb–va40}$, ff. 205^{va45}–207^{va49}, ff. 207^{va53}–208^{vb29}, ff. 208^{vb36}–210^{ra}), Hand C (f. $195^{rb14–17}$), Hand D (f. $195^{vb18–22}$), Hand E (f. $197^{ra9–12}$), Hand F (f. $197^{va54–70}$, f. $198^{vb61–69}$), Hand G (f. $202^{vb53–57}$, f. $203^{vb55–63}$), Hand H (f. $204^{rb16–17}$, f. $204^{rb71–73}$, f. $204^{va32–37}$, f. $205^{ra68–72}$, f. $205^{va40–44}$), Hand I (f. $204^{va26–29}$), Hand J (f. $204v^{a26–29}$)[68]	Otherwise unknown (ff. 188^{ra}–210^{ra})	*Magnús saga góða ok Haralds harðráða*	1450–1500[69]		73	
JS fragm 13	Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands	1	Otherwise unknown (f. $1^{r–v}$)	A Hel 4 (f. $1^{r–v}$)	*Sequentiarium*	1400[70]	1	Unknown	270 × 245 mm

62 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 445.
63 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 445.
64 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 445.
65 Stefán Karlsson, pers. comm., 1988.
66 Stefán Karlsson, pers. comm., 1988.
67 Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu', pp. 298–99; *Flateyjarbók*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal, I, p. xi.
68 See Louis-Jensen, 'Den yngre del af Flateyjarbók'.
69 Louis-Jensen, 'Den yngre del af Flateyjarbók', p. 65.
70 *Skrá um skinnblöð*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, p. 2.

Nevertheless, contacts between Helgafell and that estate existed in the form of the exchange of ecclesiastical and legal texts. The Helgafell group consists of altogether sixteen manuscripts and fragments that were written in *c.* 1350–90.[71] Excluding later additions, the manuscripts and fragments are listed in Table 1. In addition to these manuscripts and fragments, nine manuscripts and fragments are regarded as being related to the Helgafell group on the basis of textual or palaeographic aspects, even though most of these were written by otherwise unknown scribes (Table 2). Furthermore, stylistic or iconographic traits of the book painting carried out at Helgafell provide links to even more manuscripts and fragments (Table 3).[72]

The Helgafell manuscripts contain an astonishing variety of iconographic topics. Many of these illuminations reveal an innovative spirit, which is most likely due to the fact that few of the vernacular texts written at Helgafell (with the exception of an Antiphonary, LBS, JS fragm 13) had previously been illuminated.[73] Unlike other European manuscript cultures that followed geographically specific rules on widely distributed Latin texts, such as psalters or bestiaries, the Helgafell manuscripts offer a unique perspective onto a creative environment in which iconographic models were adapted and reused by book painters who possessed an unusually deep understanding of the texts that they illuminated.[74] Building partly on previous research, this study shows evidence that three illuminators, in collaboration with four minor hands, were active at Helgafell in the fourteenth century.[75] All of these craftsmen worked periodically at the scriptorium; some of them were educated outside of Helgafell and only came to that place for the execution of a particular book painting. The evidence indicates that, at Helgafell, scribes and illuminators alike not only received training at different workshops within Iceland, but also had access to a variety of international sketchbooks, and different redactions of texts within Iceland and beyond. Hence, similarly to the scribes, the illuminators at Helgafell did not work in a hermetic setting but instead drew on imagery imported from the Continent. In this book, three of these Continental influences will be discussed, each of which stems from major artistic centres in medieval Europe: western Norway, and, more distantly, the East Anglia region of Great Britain and northern France. Their influence on the Helgafell workshop is deeply embedded in the societal and economic Norwegian-Icelandic circumstances of the first half of the fourteenth century, and earlier. Accordingly, ornamentation used in Iceland originates also from Norwegian book painting produced in *c.* 1250–1320. Such an influence is limited to adapted forms of often only general Romanesque and Gothic ornamentation and strictly Gothic figural painting, which is first and foremost known from contemporaneous and earlier French and English manuscript illuminations. Yet, the style of figural paintings depicted in the Helgafell manuscripts shows a relationship to their Norwegian counterparts in *c.* 1350–60, when personal contact between Helgafell and Bergen in Norway had been established.

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71 For philological research on the Helgafell manuscripts and fragments, see Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*; *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 9–22; Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi'; Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande'; *Postulatal*, ed. by Foote, pp. 172–73; and *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, pp. 159–60.

72 Formal stylistic traits of the book painting at Helgafell have been observed by Selma Jónsdóttir, 'Gjafamynd í íslenzku handriti'; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar'; Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 24–182; and Liepe, 'Image, Script and Ornamentation'.

73 Drechsler, 'Zur Ikonographie der AM 350 fol.', pp. 106–08; Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', pp. 290–91.

74 This is not exclusive to medieval Icelandic scriptoria. For a medieval English example, see Camille, 'Visualising in the Vernacular'. See also Chapter 4 of this book.

75 Selma Jónsdóttir, 'Gjafamynd í íslenzku handriti', p. 14, initially argued for a general resemblance between Romanesque ornamentation and the High Gothic figural style of six illuminated manuscripts, together with an unidentified number of other codices, and suggested most of them to be the work of a single illuminator. Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', pp. 24–25 and 27–28, then challenged Selma Jónsdóttir's theory and increased the number of stylistically related manuscripts and fragments to fifteen, of which six were illuminated by a single book painter. In addition, she argued for a stylistic feature in the figural painting of the Helgafell manuscripts, the *Helgafellsstílinn* (Helgafell style), which consists of thin and slightly backwards leaning figures depicted with small 'peppercorn eyes'. Lena Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 16–24 and 119–20, and Liepe, 'Image, Script and Ornamentation', has studied the stylistic features of the Helgafell manuscripts in the closest detail to date. As a result, Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 122–26 and 146–53, refuted the notion of *Helgafellsstílinn* and concluded that six illuminators were active at the scriptorium and that they worked on eight manuscripts. At the same time, she confirmed stylistic similarities with five manuscripts previously assumed to be part of the wider Helgafell network by Bera Nordal, 'Lögbókarhandrítið Gks. 1154 I folio íslenskt handrit?', pp. 173–74, and Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 25: Bera Nordal investigated the iconographic and stylistic features of SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók) and has concluded that Svalbarðsbók is closely related to the Helgafell codex DAM, AM 226 fol., the Helgafell-connected manuscript SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), as well as the Norwegian law codex Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus). Her claim has been recently verified by Karl G. Johansson and Lena Liepe in 'Text and Images'.

The book includes five main chapters: Chapter 1 discusses the interdisciplinary methodology which is used throughout the book. In the spirit of Material Philology and in line with recent investigations of codicological and polytextual aspects of manuscripts, Chapter 1 presents an interdisciplinary approach that focuses on features of the palaeographical, textual, paratextual, and art historical contents of a manuscript. Many of the illuminations show an innovative spirit, and interpicturality is an approach which has been selected here in order to identify the techniques whereby iconographic models were reused at Helgafell. Furthermore, changes in the layout of columns, internal subdivisions of texts, and the dimensions of written space and rubrics are recognized and set in relation to the changes in working modes of scribes, rubricators, and illuminators between codices. In addition, a social logic is used to reflect the use of iconographic models and individual scribal contributions. All of these features change significantly within production units, and they provide information about the original audience, clients, as well as the scribal and artistic activities at Helgafell and nearby surroundings. Accordingly, a division is made to distinguish the functioning of the scriptorium from minor workshops in the vicinity: all manuscripts written primarily by the main scribes are treated as internal while codices that contain no contributions by either of the two main hands, but which acted as textual, iconographic, or stylistic models for internal manuscripts, are considered external. Social network analysis is used selectively to combine and visualize the societal, art-historical, and philological data of these manuscripts and fragments.

Chapter 2 provides a historical overview of the medieval site at Helgafell. The focus is especially set on the fourteenth century, which constitutes the period when all relevant manuscripts and fragments were written and illuminated. As the chapter reveals, the importance of Helgafell as an early Christian site of worship is reflected in various sources. The late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries saw a general rise in vernacular literature in Iceland. Helgafell is no exception and had been known for its vernacular literature since the writings of the famous historian Ari *fróði* Þorgilsson (1067–1148) in the twelfth century. In the thirteenth century, canons from Helgafell were actively involved in the composition of the sagas of Icelanders (*Íslendingasögur*), and parts of the *Sturlunga saga* compilation. Nevertheless, saga writing left few traces in manuscripts produced at Helgafell. In the fourteenth century, the quantity of land that belonged to Helgafell dramatically increased and, in turn, so did the income of Helgafell. At the time at which the Helgafell manuscripts and fragments discussed in this book were written, the house of canons regular had become the largest owner of land in western Iceland, and wealthy farmers in the vicinity established economic contacts to the Augustinian congregation.

Chapter 3 discusses the Helgafell material with a particular focus on the different stages of book production and on the historiated book painting featured. The chapter is structured around the temporal palaeographic developments of the main scribes, as seen in the sixteen manuscripts and fragments of the Helgafell group listed in Table 1. The two scribes adopt a number of Norwegian orthographic features (so-called *Norwegianisms*), which were similar to features used at other contemporaneous workshops in Iceland. Although it has previously been argued that the Norwegianisms entered into Icelandic manuscript cultures due to an interest in export to the Norwegian market after the Black Death had decimated the Norwegian clergy in 1349–50,[76] this chapter concludes that few of the illuminated Helgafell manuscripts were intended for external use and none were exported to Norway.

Chapter 4 sets the Helgafell manuscripts and fragments in an international context and discusses various art-historical influences, which derived mainly from a number of independent workshops connected to scribal schools in East Anglia, northern France, and a particular workshop in Bergen in Norway. It is proposed that most of these workshops had a connection with the growing trade networks in the North Sea region, which became an important economic factor in Icelandic society in the fourteenth century and beyond. Accordingly, illuminators at Helgafell did not work in a hermetic setting, but instead drew heavily on imagery imported from the Continent. Chapter 4 discusses these artistic influences according to their origin. First, the influence of Norwegian art from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is discussed, followed by English and French influences. The chapter concludes that the stylistic and iconographic influence of the three European workshops on the Helgafell workshop is deeply embedded in the societal and economic circumstances of the religious house.

Chapter 5 returns to the scriptorium at Helgafell and provides a conclusion on the local and international artistic and political mechanisms of the Augustinian house of canons regular in the four-

76 For this, see Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Flutningur handrita'; Stefán Karlsson, 'Om norvagismer i islandske håndskrifter'; Stefán Karlsson, 'Islandsk bogeksport til Norge i middelalderen'. For the Black Death in Norway, see Benedictow, 'Svartedauden i Norge'.

teenth century. It is concluded that there were three manuscript workshops working in western Iceland in the fourteenth century, all of which collaborated in one way or another. The primary of these is the scriptorium at Helgafell itself. Closely connected to Helgafell is the workshop responsible for the manuscript KB, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5. This workshop exchanged both textual and stylistic models with Helgafell in the 1360s, in addition to short scribal contributions made by one major scribe. Finally, a similar situation appears with a possible workshop which was home to the second scribe (H Hel 2), and this third workshop is formally proposed to be part of Helgafell, which may have operated for some time at the secular estate at Skarð and which was in contact with Helgafell in *c*. 1360–75.

CHAPTER 1

An Analysis of Medieval Icelandic Manuscript Cultures

In line with recent investigations of codicological and polytextual aspects of other Old Norse manuscripts, this book focuses on palaeographical, textual, paratextual, and art-historical contents of manuscripts and fragments that are unrelated to their potential quality for editorial or art-historical research.[1] As is well known, up until the late 1980s, medieval and early modern manuscripts were recognized by many philologists as merely text-transmitting artefacts, studied in relation to a timeless *codex optimus*, best-manuscript methods initially presented by Karl Lachmann and subsequently by Joseph Bédier.[2] Manuscript texts were considered static parts of a stemmatic model that was established in the search for a hypothetical archetype, largely detached from the overall textual contents of manuscripts. These methods were rejected in 1990 with the arrival of 'New Philology', which calls for multiple ways and holistic approaches in which manuscripts should be read and studied.[3] Accordingly, the textual, but also codicological, art-historical contents and the societal circumstances of a manuscript '[are] shaped by discourse as much as [the manuscript] shapes discourse in an on-going process'.[4] Manuscripts are individual containers of multiple meanings and areas of research, which establish genealogical stemmas unrelated to their age, the *stemmata codicum*.[5]

For a long time, the Scandinavian editorial practice remained attached to the core Lachmannian principles with regard to the quality and importance of any single manuscripts to reject their superiority.[6] Nevertheless, the gathering of interdisciplinary philological information and selected textual, codicological, and philological features of medieval Scandinavian manuscripts were recognized and studied several decades before a 'call to arms' to New Philology arose.[7] The importance of textual variants and versions in manuscripts, proposed by Paul Zumthor and Bernard Cerquiglini, also appeared in parts in the research of the Arnamagnæan School of Jón Helgason at the University of Copenhagen as early as the first decades of the twentieth century.[8] This was followed by similar working modes in Reykjavík, with the establishment of Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum in 1971.

Despite previous efforts to determine redactions and versions of vernacular saga texts and other genres that belong to the corpus of medieval Icelandic

1 In the spirit of polysystem theory, focus has in recent years been directed at the textual transmission of thirteenth-century French and English court literature into western Scandinavian manuscript cultures. Notable studies on the matter are Sif Rikhardsdottir, *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse*, Eriksen, *Writing and Reading*, and Seidel, *Textvarianz und Textstabilität*. For the polysystem theory, see Even-Zohar, *Papers in Historical Poetics*. In addition, for concise overviews on recent contributions on the interdisciplinary aspects of medieval Icelandic manuscripts, see the introductions in Rohrbach, *The Power of the Book*, and Heslop and Glauser, *RE:writing*.

2 Lachmann, *Über die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Gedichts von den Nibelungen Noth*; Bédier, 'De l'autorité du manuscrit d'Oxford pour l'établissement du texte de la *Chanson de Roland*'.

3 Nichols, 'Philology in a Manuscript Culture'; Wenzel, 'Reflections on (New) Philology', p. 15. For discussions on New Philology in Old Norse research, see Rohrbach, 'Material Philology', and Eriksen, 'New Philology/Manuscript Studies'.

4 Fleischman, 'Philology, Linguistics, and the Discourse of the Medieval Text', p. 21.

5 Kondrup, *Editionsfilologi*, pp. 48–50. According to Stephen G. Nichols, 'Why Material Philology?', p. 12, and due to the material aspects and changing modes of manuscript production that was called for, the New Philology was later renamed Material Philology. This was recently developed into an Artefactual Philology, which is mainly applied to social and textual circumstances of Old Norse manuscript production. See Driscoll, 'The Words on the Page', pp. 90–95, and Hansen, 'AM 412 12mo', p. 8.

6 See Driscoll, 'The Words on the Page', p. 88. See also Haugen, 'A Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns', p. 33.

7 Sverrir Tómasson, 'Er nýja textafræðin ný?'. Previous studies on Old Norse manuscripts or texts are manifold. Mostly, they have been carried out in the spirit of Material Philology. A selection of this literature has been presented in *Morkinskinna*, ed. by Andersson; *Fagrskinna*, ed. and trans. by Finlay; and Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók*.

8 Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, pp. 507–08; Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante*, pp. 111–12; Driscoll, 'The Words on the Page', p. 99. Árni Magnússon (1663–1730) was an Icelandic collector, antiquarian, and scholar of (mainly) vernacular manuscripts from medieval and early modern Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. He bequeathed his collection to the University of Copenhagen where it became Det Arnamagnæanske Legat in 1760 and later, in 1772, Den Arnamagnæanske Kommission. Den Arnamagnæanske Samling was established in 1956 as a department of the University of Copenhagen. On the life and scholarly activity of Árni Magnússon, see Bekker-Nielsen and Widding, *Árni Magnússon*; Már Jónsson, *Árni Magnússon*; and Már Jónsson, *Arnas Magnæus Philologus*.

literature,[9] combined with thorough provenance research and investigations into codicological structures,[10] surprisingly little attention has been given to the illuminations, rubrics, and paratextual contents of medieval Scandinavian manuscripts.[11] In the present context, the dimensions of space covered by writing and rubrics are particularly important features of manuscripts and fragments, as they may indicate changing working modes of scribes, rubricators, and illuminators between production units and whole codices.[12] Accordingly, the organization of the mise-en-page may not only include the size of the margins and number of columns, but also an internal subdivision of texts with often individually added subchapters, paragraphs, headings, and text-related illuminations. Such text–image relationships provide unique insights into the original audience and clients,[13] and they may provide evidence of a text-image-related polytextual reading of a manuscript.[14] Consequently, where available, a social logic is sought, as reflected in individual scribal and artistic contributions.[15]

All of these features change significantly within the different stages of manuscript production and, once recognized, can provide crucial information about the scribal and artistic activities taking place at specific times at Helgafell and neighbouring scriptoria in western Iceland. As is well known, medieval manuscripts were usually produced in several stages, which at times are barely related to one another. To identify the codicological production units in which they appear can provide important evidence for further scribal activity of all hands involved, or of any other craft related to the production of a given manuscript. Such *manuscript production units* identify the different modes of writing and codicological peculiarities in non-homogeneous composite manuscripts,[16] and may be indicated by a different mise-en-page in the layout, different hands that contributed to a codex either simultaneously or at different times, or a change of illuminators.[17] Such composite manuscripts often differ with respect to their original medial contents:[18] while compilation manuscripts frequently contain a largely consistent and single editorial idea behind the order, content, and length of the texts, collection manuscripts contain concepts that hail from several editors. Such manuscripts may be a product not only of several stages of production but also of a longer duration of time. Accordingly, composite manuscripts tend to have been collected, bound, and completed much later than their initial production and thus may contain aspects of both compilation and collection.[19]

In the context of contemporaneous scribal centres in other parts of Europe, fourteenth-century Icelandic workshops stand out, since the largely rural nature of Icelandic society meant that scriptoria at secular farms and monastic centres interrelate; clerical and secular scribes at these neighbouring sites fluently exchanged working spaces and wrote (both vernacular and Latin) manuscripts for a wide audience.[20] Within the œuvres of Icelandic scribes,

9 See Busby, *Codex and Context*, I, 127–28. Studies of the use of abbreviations in the *mise-en-texte* of the Helgafell manuscripts are excluded from the present study as they have been extensively discussed in previous research, for example by Kolbrún Haraldsdóttir, 'Für welchen Empfänger', pp. 33–46, and Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna'.

10 For examples of codicological research on medieval Icelandic manuscripts, see Johansson, 'Compilations, Collections and Composite Manuscripts'; Rowe, 'Literary, Codicological and Political Perspectives'; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'The Speed of the Scribes'; Már Jónsson, 'The Size of Medieval Icelandic Legal Manuscripts'; and Gunnar Harðarson, 'Hauksbók og alfræðirit miðalda'.

11 On paratexts, see Genette, *Paratexts*, and in relation to manuscript cultures in general, see Ciotti and Lin, *Tracing Manuscripts*. The study of rubrics and *tituli* in medieval Scandinavian manuscripts is surprisingly limited, despite their recognized importance for the overall layout, such as in Nichols, 'Philology in a Manuscript Culture', p. 7. For an investigation into the rubrics of West Norse law manuscripts written in the early fourteenth century, see Horn, 'The Scribe and his Exemplars'.

12 Busby, *Codex and Context*, I, 182–83.

13 For an example, see Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion*.

14 Hout, 'Polytextual Reading'. See also Sandler, 'The Images of Words', pp. 85–86, for her concept of 'literal illustrations', and Smith, 'A "Viewing Community"'.

15 Spiegel, 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic', pp. 59–70.

16 For *Manuscript Production Units*, see Gumbert, 'Zur Kodikologie und Kartographie', and Kwakkel, 'Towards a Terminology', pp. 12–15. For an overview of recent codicological methods, see Friedrich and Schwarke, 'Introduction: Manuscripts as Evolving Entities'. For most recent and advanced methodological approaches in codicology, see Andrist, Canart, and Maniaci, *La Syntaxe du codex*. A current interdisciplinary project entitled *Bókagerð í Helgafellsklaustri á 14. öld* and led by Beeke Stegmann at Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, Reykjavík, investigates the working methods of book designers, scribes, illuminators, and editors at Helgafell. A particular focus of this project is set on the codicological methods established by Andrist, Canart, and Maniaci.

17 Gumbert, 'Codicological Units', p. 40.

18 Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, pp. 3–4.

19 For further details on the subject in medieval Scandinavian manuscripts, see Johansson, 'Compilations, Collections and Composite Manuscripts', pp. 122–26, and Wendt, 'En text är en text är en text?'.

20 The influence of secular workshops on monastic scriptoria was the subject of a long-running debate between Lars Lönnroth and Stefán Karlsson. Lönnroth, 'Tesen om de två kulturerna', and Lönnroth, 'Sponsors, Writers and Readers', stressed the importance of monastic workshops as main scribal centres, while secular scriptoria played only a minor role in relation to ecclesiastical sites of production. On the contrary, Stefán Karlsson, 'Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar', pp. 131–40, and Stefán

changes in palaeography and in the overall textual contents of manuscripts indicate the interests of the hand itself, or of the clients, and could thus provide hints as to the specific environment in which a manuscript was produced and for what purpose.[21] This leads to the simple conclusion that medieval Icelandic scribes, despite the fact that very few are known by name, were not only influenced by the community to which they belonged, but were also agents of influence themselves for their surroundings.[22] This setting is equally applicable for illuminators and other craftsmen who contributed to various stages of manuscript production.

As regards the differentiation between the habits of scribes and those of illuminators, the most suitable philological method to date has been presented by Karl G. Johansson. Based on a structuralist-influenced methodology aimed at understanding the text and the writing system used in the fourteenth-century northern Icelandic manuscript DAM, AM 242 fol. (Codex Wormianus), his model is applied to determine the various contributions and norms that were made by the scribes, rubricators, illuminators and further actors involved in different production phases of a manuscript.[23] Johansson bases his analysis on an established linguistic grapheme-analysis of a system of signs that is transferred to one or several texts as they occur in a manuscript. Graphs, analysed and divided into graph-types and graph-groups which are allographs of similar graphemes, are researched equally on a graphemic and palaeographical level. Thus, the understanding of a writing system is not restricted to its historical context. This opens Johansson's approach to the possibility of identifying a clear division between macro- and micropalaeographical analysis. A micropalaeographical study generally focuses on minor palaeographic signs as single written entities, while the macropalaeographical analysis searches for orthographic variants reflecting the use of textual exempla or influences from a scribal training.[24] The norms of the scribe and scriptorium are thus separated, while at the same time both are placed in the writing tradition of the scribe and his cultural environment.[25] The identification of Icelandic scribes is generally attributed through micropalaeographical analyses, which among other things allow one to establish the dating of their texts and scribal activities, based on linguistic innovations as well as gradually emerging sound changes which are reflected in their orthography.[26] Despite the fact that scribal habits became blended due to the scribes' mobility between workshops,[27] such orthographical peculiarities have resulted in a dialect geography that is indicated in the development of sound changes at a specific region or time in Iceland.[28] A further important change in orthography indicates the influence of Norwegian writing, the so-called Norwegianisms.[29] Such orthographic peculiarities appear in Icelandic manuscripts in *c.* 1200–1400 and include one or more of the five main forms that were part of the development of the Norwegian language starting in the early thirteenth century:[30] they were taken directly from a Norwegian source text and were found in the Icelandic language for a while, but not sufficiently incorporated to be considered part of that language, were used by Icelandic scribes for Icelandic texts to imitate Norwegian texts, and could have been transferred from earlier Icelandic models or from a scribe's personal or learned dialect, which could also be the product of adapting to a new environment. Norwegianisms appear as a feature that often came to monastic Icelandic scriptoria through their contact with the archdiocese in Niðaróss and other ecclesiastical institutions in Norway, rather than through particular aristocratic interests in the production of manuscripts for the foreign market.[31]

Karlsson, 'The Localisation and Dating of Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts', pp. 149–55, suggested a wider form of manuscript production, less limited to monastic institutions.

21 Haugen, 'Between Graphonomy and Phonology', p. 260.

22 Stefán Karlsson, 'The Localisation and Dating of Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts', p. 140. For an overview of medieval Icelandic scribes known by name, see Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Hverjir skrifuðu öll þessi handrit?', and Johansson, 'Texter i rörelse', p. 100.

23 For Old Norse manuscript studies consisting of palaeographical and orthographical norms found in the handwriting of scribes, see Lindblad, *Studier i Codex regius*, and van Arkel, 'Scribes and Statistics'.

24 See Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, pp. 3–4 and 81–122.

25 Lindblad, *Studier i Codex regius*, pp. ix–x; van Arkel, 'Scribes and Statistics', p. 35; Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, pp. 84 and 213.

26 See Stefán Karlsson, 'Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar'; Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu'; Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi'.

27 Jón Helgason, 'Ortografien i AM 350 fol.', pp. 36–37; Helgi Guðmundsson, 'Um ytri aðstæður íslenskrar málþróunar', pp. 317–21.

28 Stefán Karlsson, 'The Localisation and Dating of Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts', pp. 139–40 and 146–47.

29 Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Flutningur handrita'; Stefán Karlsson, 'Om norvagismer i islandske håndskrifter'; Stefán Karlsson, 'Islandsk bogeksport til Norge i middelalderen'.

30 *The Arna-Magnæan Manuscript 674 A, 4to*, ed. by Jón Helgason, p. xx; *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 57; Stefán Karlsson, 'Om norvagismer i islandske håndskrifter'. See also Tveitane, *Den lærde stil*, p. 43, and *Olav Tryggvasons saga*, ed. by Holtsmark, p. 11.

31 Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Kirkja, klaustur ok norskublandið ritmálsviðmið á Íslandi á miðöldum', pp. 163–66.

Fourteenth-century Iceland was home to a wide network of scribes, illuminators, and clients, some of whom worked at several sites on manuscripts, diplomas, and other written records. Considering this fact, in the following, the functioning of an individual scriptorium must be separated from that of other potential workshops operating nearby. Thus, all manuscripts primarily written by one of the two main scribes from Helgafell will be treated as internal manuscripts. This distinction is unrelated to the length of texts written by the scribes in the respective manuscripts or fragments. Codices that contain no contributions by either of these two scribes, but which acted as textual and/or iconographic/stylistic models for internal manuscripts, are considered external manuscripts. As will be shown, the distinction between internal and external manuscripts is fluid at times and appears less relevant to the internal group. Because a wide variety of codicological, palaeographical, textual, iconographic, and stylistic factors are investigated in this book, a distinction must be held between internal manuscripts and fragments that belong to the group, and external codices and fragments that are linked to Helgafell only via external textual, iconographic, or stylistic connections.

Medieval Icelandic illuminations have long been studied as an isolated phenomenon, containing stylistic content created by illuminators who were members of either established medieval workshops or general areas of artistic activity.[32] In line with English and northern French workshops from the fourteenth century and earlier, stylistic traits of Icelandic illuminations display a similarity in style.[33] This similarity is seen mainly in the unusually frequent use of Romanesque models for floral and zoomorphic ornamentation that lasts well into the early modern period in Iceland.[34] Despite the difficulties in distinguishing between illuminators, the stylistic features of several of the Helgafell manuscripts have been investigated.[35] In light of these results, this book focuses not only on the stylistic content of the Helgafell manuscript group, but also on the equally important iconographic features, which have previously been somewhat neglected. Because of the reuse of iconographic images in newly created textual settings at Helgafell, this book addresses the specific use and modification of images and their relationship to the texts which they introduce. In addition, the rubrics — to date equally ignored — are studied, since they often indicate a relationship to the historiated initials. Such an interdisciplinary approach necessitates the study of iconography in various textual settings, whilst also identifying the ensuing structural changes. Even more so, the considerably innovative use of iconographical images at Helgafell is not as closely linked to the previous usage of the same iconographic patterns as in other parts of Europe. It is because of this deviation that the classical iconological method is of little use for the present analysis.[36]

Starting with the *iconic turn*,[37] generally seen as a counterpart to the *linguistic turn*, art historians began to re-evaluate the dependence of pictures on texts as main sources of inspiration.[38] Interpicturality is a recent approach, though not one single coherent method,[39] which identifies the techniques of a reuse of iconographic models at Helgafell. Accordingly, the proclaimed intention of the founders of the iconic turn to free pictures from words is not supported by the terms of interpicturality, since intermedial

32 For an overview of the research of monastic art centres in medieval Scandinavia, see Liepe, 'Domkyrkor och kloster'.

33 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 16.

34 Björn Th. Björnsson, 'Úr íslenzkri listsögu fyrri alda'. Due to the constant self-referring characteristics which constituted an often-autonomous repertoire of terms and concepts within art history, stylistic analysis was not always seen as a secure basis for grouping and/or signifying forms of medieval arts. For this, see Sauerländer, 'From Stilus to Style', p. 263. Nevertheless, formal characteristics of iconographic art remain strong tools of stylistic research to distinguish between works of art, as well as developments over a period. For this book, Schapiro, 'Style', p. 287, shall be followed, who claims rather neutrally that style can be considered 'a way of characterizing relationships among works of art that were made at the same time and/or place, or by the same person or group'. This not only concerns specific expressions of forms, but is also used to classify genres, epochs, or time-related, spatial styles.

35 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 24–182; Liepe, 'Image, Script and Ornamentation'. By adapting the philological methodology of Johansson as presented above, Liepe in *Studies*, pp. 12–24, 133–38, and 157–70, has shown that a stylistic investigation into Icelandic manuscript illumination is not restricted to the classical tools of art history. For classical art-historical studies on Icelandic manuscripts, see Selma Jónsdóttir, 'Gjafamynd í íslenzku handriti'; Selma Jónsdóttir, *Lýsingar í Stjórnarhandriti*; Selma Jónsdóttir, 'The Illuminations of Helgastaðabók'; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Íslenskt saltarbrot í Svíþjóð?'; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar'; and Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Lýsingar í íslenskum handritum á 15. öld'.

36 Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*. What remains relevant to that method is the so-called *Ikonik* by Imdahl, *Giotto*, pp. 84–110, and Imdahl, 'Ikonik'. *Ikonik* signifies a deviance as found in the formal composition of iconographic images and discusses these changes in relation to possible text-related meanings. For an overview of recent publications on iconology, see Liepe, 'The Study of the Iconography and Iconology of Medieval Art'.

37 Boehm, 'Die Wiederkehr der Bilder'; Boehm, 'Die Bilderfrage'; Mitchell, 'The Pictorial Turn'.

38 See, for example, Meier, 'Typen der Text-Bild-Lektüre'.

39 Zuschlag, 'Auf dem Weg zu einer Theorie der Interikonizität', p. 90.

links — including texts — are considered the main aspect of this approach.[40] Generally, interpicturality refers to images or forms created for one context and then reused in a new context which may alter their meaning.[41] Such image–image relationships are the 'Intertextualität in visuellen Medien' (intertextuality of visual media), which has been known throughout history in various forms, such as 'Nachahmung, Plagiat, Kopie, Variation, […] Zitat, Allusion, Hommage, Parodie [oder] Ironie' (reproduction, plagiarism, copy, variation, […] citation, allusion, homage, parody [or] irony).[42] Interpicturality thus describes a process that 'durch die Epochen hindruch ein signifikantes Verfahren gewesen [ist]' (is constantly seen through the epochs as a significant form of expression),[43] while the form of association could vary;[44] a picture that includes several individual citations is considered a 'Sonderfall interpikturaler Relationen' (exception of interpictural relationships).[45] Iconographically combined images are thus studied critically with respect to their potential iconographic arbitrariness, since some parts of these newly created images may represent later and optional additions, or are simply free associations of the recipient.[46] No part of an image, therefore, could be discussed in isolation, since a picture is generally seen as a whole work of art,[47] as an 'interaction and disjunction between formality, style and pictorality'.[48]

A direct exchange of art-historical artefacts between workshops, not only those in Iceland, can therefore be established by examining the proposed image–image relationships between manuscript groups or particular manuscripts, adhering to the techniques of interpicturality. It remains crucial to identify iconographic images not only in terms of their artistic use, but also in their cultural importance as variable religious or secular bearers of meaning.[49] Accordingly, images inherit a moment of historical description,[50] each of which includes a variation of an iconography specific to the place of production; all of which can respond to literal religious veneration, a *cult-geography*.[51] Such a cult-geography maps relic findings onto centres of cult practices.[52] Accordingly, cult objects are considered devotional images which do not include an aesthetic dimension in the first place and are separated from modern approaches to the artistic content of religious pictures. Rather, they are considered to inherit a religious power which is only accessible to contemporary viewers with specific cultural conditions.[53] In Iceland, this is reflected in medieval place names and primary sources, such as church inventories (*máldagi*, pl. *máldagar*) and vernacular saga writings that indicate the veneration of saints at specific sites.[54]

A suitable approach which could be used to combine and visualize the art-historical and philological data of all the internal and external manuscripts and their various stages of production is found in the famous social network analysis.[55] Broadly put in interdisciplinary terms, network analysis collates related data into a single database of varying size and complexity. Patterns of relationships between actors and collections of actors are of central importance for the establishment of such a network. Accordingly, with the help of network studies, the impact of an actor to a collection or group of actors and its functioning through internal links can be displayed and further studied with the help of social network analysis.[56] Such links are referred to as graphs, 'a tie [that] is either present or absent between each pair of actors',[57] which in this book is applied to manuscripts.

40 Frank and Lange, *Einführung in die Bildwissenschaft*, pp. 10–11. In contrast to the iconic turn and its less semiotic nature, interpicturality appears to be more related to current semiotic ideas in art history than other successors of the iconic turn. For an overview of previous approaches combining semiotic and art-historical research, see Bal and Bryson, 'Semiotics and Art History'.

41 Interpicturality should not be understood in the same way as visual cultural studies and intermediality. Interpicturality is concerned with a strict art-historical approach that is less related to the modern media theory than the slightly wider form of image–image methodology, the so-called *Interpiktorialität*. For this, see Isekenmeier, 'In Richtung einer Theorie der Interpiktorialität', pp. 16–35.

42 Von Rosen, 'Interpikturalität', pp. 161–62.

43 Von Rosen, 'Interpikturalität', p. 161.

44 For the varying character of text–image relationships, see further Wenzel, 'Die Beweglichkeit der Bilder', pp. 224–35.

45 Von Rosen, 'Interpikturalität', p. 163.

46 Geimer, *Bilder aus Versehen*, p. 57.

47 Isekenmeier, 'In Richtung einer Theorie der Interpiktorialität', p. 47.

48 Davis, *A General Theory of Visual Culture*, p. 194.

49 Frank and Lange, *Einführung in die Bildwissenschaft*, p. 10.

50 Belting, *Bild und Kult*, p. 20.

51 Belting, *Bild und Kult*, p. 24.

52 Belting, *Bild und Kult*, p. 336; Belting, *Bild-Anthropologie*, p. 11.

53 Büchsel, 'Materialpracht'. For material aspects of religious belief in the Middle Ages, see Kiening, *Fülle und Mangel*, pp. 259–91.

54 For cult objects and religious place names in medieval Iceland, see Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland*; Cormack, 'Possible Christian Place-Names'.

55 Wassermann and Faust, *Social Network Analysis*.

56 Wassermann and Faust, *Social Network Analysis*, p. 9.

57 Wassermann and Faust, *Social Network Analysis*, p. 94. A graph consists of two sets of information, a set of notes (n) and a set of lines (l), according to Wassermann and Faust, *Social Network Analysis*, p. 95: 'In a graph each line is an unordered pair of distinct nodes […] [and] since lines are unordered pairs of nodes, the line between nodes n_1 and n_2 is identical to the line between nodes n_2 and n_1'.

The historical setting of graphs will be used to present features such as an exchange of iconographic or ornamental models, related textual variants, or the simple contribution of scribes to manuscripts, or clients.

The content of such a visual presentation of sociological, philological, and art-historical data is reduced to the most substantial connections that strengthen an argument for a specific relationship of notes. Examples are textual, palaeographic, or iconographic connections between manuscripts, scribes, and illuminators. In this respect, the critical approach of the post-structuralistic actor-network theory by Bruno Latour will be an important guide for the establishment of social network analysis diagrams.[58] Such diagrams are not used as methods to interpret social mechanisms;[59] rather, they are seen as a tool to visually represent philological and art-historical data in an easily accessible and comprehensible way. In this book, Latour's critical approach is borne in mind for art-historical comparisons, which at times vary in terms of their accuracy. Thus, the exact meaning of terms such as 'connected', 'related', 'similar', or 'influenced' can vary with each comparison and cannot be referential synonyms similar to their use in the textual studies. For example, strong stylistic and iconographic similarities are described in Chapter 3, while more distant stylistic and iconographic comparisons are discussed in Chapter 4. The reader, therefore, is asked to consider such art-historical terms in relation to the iconographic and stylistic comparisons made in situ; to keep their multilayered terminology in mind considering the social network diagrams that are part of the following analysis.

58 Latour, *Reassembling the Social*.
59 Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, pp. 151–52.

CHAPTER 2

Helgafell

An Augustinian House of Canons Regular in Western Iceland

Helgafell, the 'Holy Mountain' on the north side of Snæfellsnes, has been an established religious site since the settlement of Iceland in the late ninth century. According to the two local thirteenth-century *Íslendingasögur*,[1] *Laxdœla saga* and *Eyrbyggja saga*, one of the earliest churches was built at that place shortly after the conversion of Iceland in the year 999 or 1000.[2] In *Laxdœla saga*, it is mentioned that Gellir Þorkelsson, son of the saga heroine Guðrún Ósvífsdóttir, built a church at Helgafell soon after the Christianization.[3] Alternatively, *Eyrbyggja saga* refers to a church at Helgafell that was established by Helgafell-born chieftain and politician Snorri *goði* Þorgrímsson (963–1031) at about the same time.[4] It remains unclear who first built a church there,[5] but the importance of Helgafell as an early Christian site of worship remains well reflected in these two early sources from medieval western Iceland.

In 1172, a monastic community was founded on the island of Flatey in Breiðafjörður.[6] Little is known about its establishment, except that it took place during the time of Klængr Þorsteinsson (1102–76), fourth bishop of the southern diocese of Iceland, Skálholt.[7] Twelve years after its establishment (1184 or 1185), the monastery was moved to Helgafell.[8] At that time, the Augustinian house of canons regular consisted of about five canons with a little agricultural land.[9] Ǫgmundr Kálfsson (d. 1188), first abbot of Helgafell, must have been well connected to the highest ecclesiastical circles in the Skálholt diocese, as he is known to have been a potential successor to Bishop Klængr in 1174.[10] Otherwise, little is known about the organization of the house of canons regular in the first decades of its existence at Helgafell.[11]

It has been suggested that the Helgafell canons followed the reformed congregation of the Augustinian canons regular of St Victor, in which case it would have been part of a wider ecclesiastical network of the same order in the twelfth century.[12] This argument is mainly based on the assumption that

1 *Íslendingasögur*, the Sagas of Icelanders or Family sagas, comprise some thirty-five to forty vernacular sagas dealing with Icelandic history during the *Söguöld* (Saga Age) in *c.* 870/930–1030. Most *Íslendingasögur* include the story of a blood feud between family members of several chieftains, and due to the locality of the happenings, the stories of the *Íslendingasögur* often remain restricted to particular parts of Iceland. Despite their age, they were only recorded first in writing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For content, structure, and age of the *Íslendingasögur*, see Vésteinn Ólason, 'Family Sagas'.

2 For the history of Helgafell, see Janus Jónsson, 'Um klaustrin á Íslandi'; Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*; Sverrir Jakobsson, *Saga Breiðfirðinga*, pp. 212–36; Sverrir Jakobsson, 'Frá Helgafellsklaustri til Stapaumboðs'; Gunnar Harðarson, 'Viktorklaustrið', pp. 138–42; Cormack, 'Possible Christian Place-Names', pp. 70–73.

3 *Laxdœla saga*, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson, pp. 196 and 228–29; see also Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, pp. 1–61, and Cormack, 'Possible Christian Place-Names', pp. 70–73.

4 *Eyrbyggja saga*, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson, p. 136.

5 Cormack, 'Possible Christian Place-Names', p. 72.

6 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, pp. 117 and 323.

7 Skálholt, the first diocese of Iceland in the south-west of the country, was established in 1056 by its first bishop, Ísleifr Gissurason (1006–80). Shortly after, in 1106, the northern Icelandic diocese of Hólar was established, and its first bishop was Jón Ǫgmundarson (1052–1121), who was later locally venerated as a saint. On the history of the dioceses of Iceland, see Gunnar Kristjánsson and Óskar Guðmundsson, *Saga biskupsstólanna*.

8 It remains unknown why the Augustinian house of canons regular was moved to Helgafell. Finnur Jónsson in *Íslendingabók*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, p. 65, suggested that the move to Helgafell was caused by a change of monastic order, but no primary source indicates this. Rather, despite a primitive simplicity, which the monastic community might have initially sought in Flatey, a major factor must have been the isolation of the island in Breiðafjörður. In addition, moving an Augustinian house shortly after its foundation was common in the twelfth century, and at least twenty examples are known from England alone. For this, see Greene, *Medieval Monasteries*, pp. 16–17.

9 A letter written in *c.* 1186 refers to the convent as an Augustinian house of canons regular. For this, see *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, I, ed. by Jón Sigurðsson, p. 282; see also Orri Vésteinsson, *The Christianization of Iceland*, p. 136. At that time, the monastery owned four plots of land near Helgafell. For this, see Árni Daníel Júlíusson, *Jarðeignir kirkjunnar 1000–1550*, p. 44.

10 *Biskupa sögur*, II, ed. by Ásdís Egilsdóttir, pp. 62 and 154.

11 Augustinian houses of canons regular covered a wide variety of religious establishments in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. A common rule was that the canons must be ordained priests and have no personal possessions. Although these canons were priests, they are not always referred to as such. See Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, p. 165, and Greene, *Medieval Monasteries*, p. 1.

12 Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, pp. 57–58, Gunnar Harðarson, 'Viktorklaustrið', pp. 138–42. For ecclesiastical networks between medieval Augustinian houses of canons regular, see Gebert, 'Sankt Viktor von Paris und die Viktoriner'.

the successor to Klængr, Bishop Þorlákr Þórhallsson (1133–93), had studied theology at St Victor in Paris, as well as at Lincoln, in 1153–59, before becoming the fifth bishop of Skálholt in 1178.[13] Þorlákr was indeed a highly influential figure in Icelandic ecclesiastical politics and greatly strengthened the power of the Church. In 1178, Þorlákr was made Bishop of Skálholt by Archbishop Eysteinn Erlendsson (1120–88) at Niðaróss (now Trondheim), Norway, who was possibly also educated at St Victor.[14] Both Bishop Þorlákr and Archbishop Eysteinn went on to strengthen the rights of the Church through, among other things, the establishment of the *staðamál fyrra* a year later, in 1179.[15] It is possible that a personal contact between Helgafell and Bishop Þorlákr contributed to the establishment of the house of canons regular,[16] but a particular rise in wealth is not reflected in the land ownership of the western Icelandic religious house.[17] Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether Helgafell was following the congregation in Paris, at least prior to the fifteenth century when a papal document indicates that, by now if not before, the Augustinian house was indeed following the *Ordo Sancti Victoris*.[18] In addition, writings from the Parisian monastery such as Hugh of St Victor's widely dispersed *De institutione novitiorum* and *Didascalicon*, particularly important for the liberal arts, are unknown from annals and church inventories (*máldagar*) from Helgafell. Only Hauksbók, an early fourteenth-century medieval Icelandic compendium manuscript partly written by the lawman (*lǫgmaðr*) Haukr Erlendsson (d. 1334),[19] partly in connection to the northern Icelandic Benedictine monastery at Þingeyrar, contains a translated treatise of Hugh of St Victor's *Soliquium de arrha animæ*.[20] But it is unclear whether that text was transferred to, and known at, Helgafell. Nevertheless, one text that was definitely used at Helgafell, and which includes references to treatises from the Parisian monastery, is *Stjórn* (Guidance), an Old Norse translation of (sections of) the Old Testament, which is also found in one manuscript produced at Helgafell, DAM, AM 226 fol.

Little is known about the architecture of the monastery at Helgafell. Three years prior to the move to Snæfellsnes in 1184, the previous church at that location burned down,[21] and no information about a new church on the site is known until 1308, when one such was consecrated.[22] Only a year later, a new cathedral was consecrated at Skálholt,[23] and it is likely that both churches were built in a Norwegian-inspired fashion:[24] After the previous cathedral built by the aforementioned Bishop Klængr in 1153 burned down in 1309, Bishop Árni Helgason (d. 1320) of Skálholt went to Norway to order wood, intending to build a new church in the same place. This timber cathedral, which was called Árnakirkja, has been linked to Norwegian models that were used for the contemporaneously established cathedral at Hólar.[25] Unfortunately, nothing is known about the architecture at Helgafell, since two or three fires completely destroyed the monastery after its dissolution in 1543.[26] The oldest depiction of Helgafell is dated to 1790 when the local priest, Sæmundur Hólm, produced a painting of the site, which includes a new

13 The literature on Þorlákr Þórhallsson and the Monastery of St Victor is extensive. See Jón Jóhannesson, *Íslendinga saga*, pp. 214 and 231–32; Sigurður Sigurðarson, *Þorlákur helgi og samtíð hans*; Gunnar F. Guðmundsson, *Íslenskt samfélag og Rómakirkja*, pp. 25–38; *Biskupa sögur*, II, ed. by Ásdís Egilsdóttir, pp. 52 and 58–59; Gunnar Harðarson, 'Viktorklaustrið', pp. 136–38.

14 Bagge, 'Nordic Students at Foreign Universities until 1660', pp. 2–3.

15 Magnús Stefánsson, *Staður og staðamál*, pp. 94–95 and 98–104. The *staðamál fyrra* was a result of the conflict between bishops and chieftains of Iceland over the parish churches that were initially built by the chieftains on their property. Bishop Þorlákr claimed custody of these church places in accordance with the Church reform instituted by Archbishop Eysteinn. For this, see also Orri Vésteinsson, *The Christianization of Iceland*, pp. 117–23. For chieftain-built churches in medieval Iceland, see Skovgaard-Petersen, 'Islandsk egenkirkevæsen'.

16 Gunnar Harðarson, 'Viktorklaustrið', p. 138.

17 See Árni Daníel Júlíusson, *Jarðeignir kirkjunnar 1000–1550*, pp. 34 and 37.

18 The document is dated to 28 February 1458. See *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IX, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 35–36.

19 Hauksbók consists of the three shelf marks SÁM, AM 371 4to, DAM, AM 544 4to, and DAM, AM 675 4to, which were produced in three separate phases. Only two of these seem to have been partly written and/or commissioned by Haukr directly. For the content, codicological structure, and history of Hauksbók, see Stefán Karlsson, 'Aldur Hauksbókar'; Rowe, 'Literary, Codicological and Political Perspectives', pp. 52–63; Sverrir Jakobsson, 'Hauksbók and the Construction of an Icelandic World View', pp. 26–29; Johansson, 'Compilations, Collections and Composite Manuscripts'; and Gunnar Harðarson, 'Hauksbók og alfræðirit miðalda'.

20 For this text in Hauksbók, see *Littérature et spiritualité en Scandinavie médiévale*, ed. by Gunnar Harðarson, pp. 195–246.

21 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, pp. 118 and 180.

22 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 201.

23 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 342.

24 A number of chapter seals created in the diocese of Hólar at around the same time depict stave churches closely related to similar churches in western Norway. For this, see Drechsler, 'Reynistaðakirkja hin forna', and Guðrún Harðardóttir, 'Myndheimur íslenskra klausturinnsigla', pp. 214–25.

25 Hörður Ágústsson, *Skálholt*, p. 239.

26 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, XIV, ed. by Björn Þorsteinsson, p. 357. On the later history and dissolution of Helgafell, see Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 45–47; Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, pp. 81–117; Sverrir Jakobsson, 'Frá Helgafellsklaustri til Stapaumboðs', pp. 94–100.

Table 4. The abbots of Helgafell in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Abbots associated with saga writing at Helgafell are underlined, while abbots potentially associated with book production at Helgafell are marked with italics.

Time	Name	Relevant Details
1217–20	Ketill Hermundarson (d. 1220)	Nephew of Kári Runólfsson, abbot of Þingeyrar
1221–25	Hallr Gizurarson (d. 1230)	Later abbot of Þykkvibær in 1225–30
1226–44	Hallkell Magnússon (d. 1244)	
1258–1302	Óláfr Hjǫrleifsson (d. 1302)	
1305–08	Guðmundr Þorvarðsson (d. 1308)	Previous canon from Þykkvibær
1308–24	Þórðr Guðmundsson (d. 1343)	Previous canon from Viðey
1324–28/29	Þorsteinn Þorvaldsson (d. 1328/29)	Chosen by Bishop Jón Halldórsson (d. 1339)
1329–44	Þorkell Einarsson	Previous canon from Viðey
1345–50/51	Þorsteinn Snorrason (d. 1350/51)	Chosen by Bishop Jón Sigurðsson (d. 1348)
1352–78/79	*Ásgrímr Jónsson* (d. 1378/79)	
1379–90	*Guðmundr Arason* (d. 1390)	
1391–1403	*Þorsteinn Snorrason* (d. 1403)	Became *officialis* of Skálholt in 1391–94.

church he had built.[27] That church has also now been replaced, but most of the older buildings in his painting remain in the same configuration today, as can be seen at the modern farm at Helgafell.[28] The location behind the mountain, sheltered from the wind coming in from the north-west off Breiðafjörður, suggests a similar site for the monastery. A church inventory named *Vilchinsannáll* from 1397 describes in detail the different rooms of the monastery at that time.[29] To date, there is no archaeological record indicating the presence of such buildings during the Middle Ages.

Helgafell in the Thirteenth Century

The late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries saw an impressive rise of vernacular literature in Iceland.[30] Helgafell was no exception and has been known for its vernacular literature since the writings of the famous, Helgafell-born historian Ari *fróði* Þorgilsson (1067–1148), author of *Íslendingabók*, the oldest historical work known from medieval Scandinavia.[31]

In the following two sections, two particular parts of the medieval history of Helgafell will be examined: the (potential) writing of vernacular saga literature in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and book production in the fourteenth century. Both are connected to specific abbots (Table 4).

In the second half of the thirteenth century and under the supervision of Abbot Óláfr Hjǫrleifsson (1258–1302), canons from Helgafell were actively involved in the composition of a number of already mentioned *Íslendingasögur*, and parts of a thirteenth-century *Sturlunga saga* compilation:[32] according to *Árna saga byskups* and *Sturlu þáttr*, both belonging to *Sturlunga saga*, Abbot Óláfr appears as a mediator between the chieftains Hrafn Oddsson (1225–89) and Sturla Þórðarson (1214–84).[33] In addition, a contemporary saga about Aron Hjǫrleifsson (*c.* 1200–55), brother of Abbot Óláfr, *hirðmaðr*, and later abbot at the western Icelandic Benedictine monastery at Hítadalur,[34] reports events concerning their

27 Henderson, *Ferðabók*, ed. and trans. by Snæbjörn Jónsson, pp. 247–75.

28 Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir, Vala Gunnarsdóttir, and Helga Jónsdóttir, *Kortlagning klaustra á Íslandi*, p. 5.

29 See Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir, *Leitin að klaustrunum*, pp. 256–59, for a discussion of the wealth and function of the monastery at that time. For the entries in the *Vilchinsannáll*, see *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 169–71.

30 For introductions to the origin of vernacular saga literature in medieval Iceland, see Vésteinn Ólason, *Dialogues with the Viking Age*, pp. 15–62, and Ármann Jakobsson, 'Royal Biography'.

31 For Ari *fróði* Þorgilsson and Helgafell, see Sverrir Jakobsson, *Saga Breiðfirðinga*, pp. 23–40. *Íslendingabók* is generally considered the first historical work of Iceland written in the vernacular. It is commonly dated to *c.* 1122–33. On the content and different redactions of *Íslendingabók*, see the introduction in *Íslendingabók*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson.

32 For an overview of the literature written at Helgafell, see Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, pp. 137–44. *Sturlunga saga* is a collection of vernacular Icelandic sagas dealing mainly with the *Sturlungaöld* (The Age of the Sturlungs), 1220–64. The collection covers the history of Iceland between 1117 and 1264. It was written by various authors contemporaneously in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and collected around 1300. For an introduction to *Sturlunga saga*, see Úlfar Bragason, 'Sagas of Contemporary History'.

33 *Sturlunga saga*, ed. Örnólfur Thorsson, II, 763, 777, and 788.

34 A *hirðmaðr* (pl. *hirðmenn*) is part of the West Norse royal household during the late Middle Ages starting in the late

family in the contemporary *Sturlungaöld*.[35] It may well be that Abbot Óláfr himself was one of the main informants for the earliest stages of the saga.[36] Also related to Abbot Óláfr is *Þorgils saga skarða*, a contemporary *Íslendingasaga*, which was written by one of his kinsmen, Þórðr Hítanesingr.[37] The earliest possible product of saga writing at the Augustinian house of canons at Helgafell is *Laxdœla saga*, which was written in two stages during *c.* 1230–60.[38] *Laxdœla saga* has been linked to the two Helgafell abbots Þorfinnr Þorgeirsson (1188–1216) and Ketill Hermundarson (d. 1220), the latter being related to Bolli Þorleiksson, one of the main heroes in the saga.[39] In addition to *Laxdœla saga*, it has been proposed that the short story *Grænlendinga þáttr* was composed by Abbot Ketill himself, since one of the participants in that *þáttr* is his father, Hermundr Koðránsson (d. 1197).[40] Slightly later is *Eyrbyggja saga*, which was composed at the same place at almost the same time, in *c.* 1265,[41] but undoubtedly by a different author.[42] It has further been argued that *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, a late *Íslendingasaga* that predominantly plays out in the western part of Snæfellsnes, was also compiled at Helgafell during the decades during which most of the Helgafell manuscripts were produced, the later part of the fourteenth century, in 1350–90.[43] Closely related in textual and temporal terms to *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss* are three post-classical *Íslendingasögur* — *Þórðar saga hreðu*, *Víglundar saga*, and *Króka-Refs saga* — as well as the short story *Kumblbúa þáttr*. It remains unclear whether any of these texts were written at Helgafell itself or merely in its vicinity.[44] Another potential *Íslendingasaga* composed at Helgafell is *Bjarnar saga Hítadœlakappa*, as well as the short story *Þorsteins þáttr uxafóts*, although neither is related to the peninsula of Snæfellsnes,[45] nor are they connected to any of the manuscripts from the Helgafell group. In addition, the precise dating of these medieval sagas remains uncertain to this day.[46] Only one manuscript produced within the personal network at or around Helgafell is known to include some of these *Íslendingasögur*, namely *Vatnshyrna, a now-lost codex written in *c.* 1390 by the scribe and illuminator Magnús Þórhallsson.[47] In addition, the kings' saga fragment DAM, AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi), written by the main scribe from Helgafell, H Hel 1, in *c.* 1370–90, contains two chapters from *Laxdœla saga*. Nevertheless, these two chapters do not belong to the *Vatnshyrna recension or any of the other versions of the same saga and thus provide no further context.[48] Similar to the problems encountered in dating these sagas precisely and as mentioned in the introduction, a lack of evidence for a scriptorium at the Augustinian house of canons regular makes it hard to re-establish the writing of saga literature at Helgafell. Instead, the manuscripts themselves demonstrate the existence of a writing centre at the western Icelandic monastery in the fourteenth century.

thirteenth century. Their rank was hierarchically arranged. On the rank and function of the *hirðmenn* at the Norwegian court, see Imsen, 'King Magnus and his Liegemen's Hirdskrå'.

35 The *Sturlungaöld* lasted from 1220 to the end of the Icelandic Commonwealth in 1262–64. It is a period of violent internal battles between the most powerful families of thirteenth-century Iceland and is documented in the *Sturlunga saga* collection. On the *Sturtlungaöld*, see Gunnar Karlsson, 'Frá þjóðveldi til konungsríkis'.

36 Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, p. 136.

37 Ólsen, 'Um Sturlungu', pp. 265–66.

38 Vésteinn Ólason, 'Family Sagas', p. 115. *Laxdœla saga* (The Saga of the People of the Laxárdalr) is one of the most famous *Íslendingasögur*. It tells of the people from the Breiðarfjörður area during the *Söguöld* in the ninth and early tenth centuries.

39 Hermann Pálsson and Edwards, 'Introduction', p. 3; Callow, 'Reconstructing the Past', pp. 308–11.

40 Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, *Af fornum lögum og sögum*, p. 167. *Grænlendinga þáttr* is only recorded in the kings' saga manuscript SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), part of which was most likely produced at Helgafell. *Grænlendinga þáttr* describes the establishment of the Greenlandic diocese and the troubles of the Norwegian settlers with the Greenlandic people in 1124–33.

41 One of the main arguments for a similar place of origin is that *Eyrbyggja saga* draws on partly similar sources as *Laxdœla saga*. For this, see Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, pp. 135–36; *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, ed. and trans. by Jón Skaptason and Pulsiano, p. xiii.

42 Vésteinn Ólason, 'Family Sagas', p. 115.

43 For the dating of *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss* and Helgafell, as well as interrelations, see *Harðar saga, Bárðar saga*, ed. by Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, pp. xcix–cvii.

44 Maurer, *Die Quellenzeugnisse*, p. 52; Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, pp. 139–40. All of the sagas and *þættir* mentioned belong to the so-called post-classical saga period and are commonly dated to the middle of the fourteenth century and later. While they still take place during the *Söguöld* period, post-classical sagas often feature a number of fantastic elements less known from earlier, classical *Íslendingasögur*. On the discussion of the historicity of post-classical sagas, see Clunies Ross, 'Realism and the Fantastic in the Old Icelandic Sagas', and Sävborg, 'Den "efterklassiska" islänningasagan och dess ålder'.

45 *Harðar saga, Bárðar saga*, ed. by Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, pp. clxxiv–clxxv.

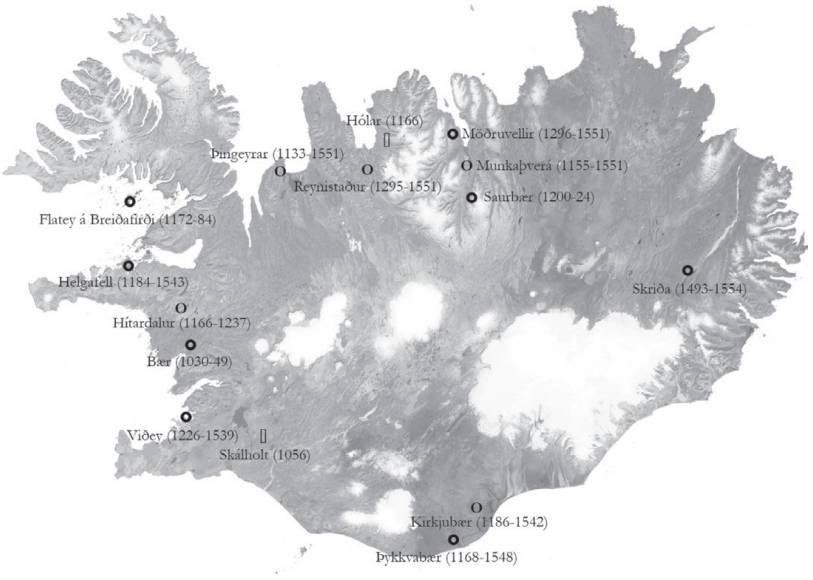
46 Einar Ól. Sveinsson, *Dating the Icelandic Saga*; for up-to-date discussions, see Torfi Tulinius, 'Dating Eyrbyggja saga', and Louis-Jensen, 'Dating the Archetype'.

47 For *Vatnshyrna, see Chapter 3, Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu', and McKinnell, 'The Reconstruction of Pseudo-Vatnshyrna'. The codex once included, among other texts, *Laxdœla saga*, *Eyrbyggja saga*, *Bergbúa þáttr*, and *Kumblbúa þáttr*. It is transmitted in several close copies from the seventeenth century.

48 *Eyrbyggja saga*, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson, p. lxxvii.

Personal Contacts

Helgafell was well connected to other religious houses in the overwhelmingly rural society of medieval Iceland. While no cleric at Helgafell is known with certainty to have originated from the northern Icelandic Hólar diocese,[49] contacts with the southern Icelandic Skálholt diocese — to which Helgafell belonged — existed throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and these left textual traces in the Helgafell manuscripts (Map 1). The southern Icelandic house at Þykkvibær is related to the book production at Helgafell, since several ecclesiastical sagas originally composed at Þykkvibær seem to have been transferred to Helgafell through the movements of newly elected abbots. The *Stjórn* codex DAM, AM 226 fol. from Helgafell exclusively includes texts translated by the cleric Brandr Jónsson (d. 1264) from Þykkvibær (1247–63; later bishop of Hólar in 1263–64): namely the pseudo-historical *Alexanders saga* and *Gyðinga saga* and selected parts of *Stjórn*. Furthermore, a slightly earlier manuscript containing saints' sagas (*Heilagra manna sögur*), written by the main scribe from Helgafell, H Hel 1, DAM, AM 233 a fol., contains the saint's saga *Jóns saga baptista* II, which was composed in *c.* 1264–98 at Þykkvibær by the cleric Grímr Hólmsteinsson (d. 1298). This text is quite unique as Grímr has recomposed the saint's saga, focusing on Raymond of Peñafort's confessional legal manual *Summa de casibus* and, in Chapters 19–21, current issues related to Icelandic church politics.[50] The saga was written at the behest of the abbot of Þykkvibær, Runólfr Sigmundarson (1264–1306),[51] who was one of the closest allies of Bishop Árni Þorláksson (1237–98) of Skálholt during the *staðarmál síðari* conflict regarding the custody of private churches in 1269–97.[52] Shortly after completion of *Jóns saga baptista* II, a



Map 1. Monasteries and dioceses in medieval Iceland. The map is taken from the Icelandic Land Survey, <http://www.lmi.is>, and further historical information has been added by Stefan Drechsler. Thick circles indicate Augustinian houses of canons regular, thin circles Benedictine monasteries, and rectangles the two dioceses.

cleric from Þykkvibær, Guðmundr Þorvarðsson, became abbot of Helgafell in 1305–08. It is likely that he took the saga with him to Helgafell,[53] where it was used some fifty years later as the exemplar for AM 233 a fol. Abbot Runólfr himself translated the saga about St Augustine, *Augustinus saga*, and this text is known to have been stored at the library of Helgafell as late as 1377/78.[54]

In contrast to Þykkvibær, the Augustinian monastery on the small isle of Viðey in southern Iceland, established a few decades after Helgafell in 1225–26, off the coasts of modern Reykjavík, shares few personal bonds with Helgafell. Only two canons from Viðey are known to have become abbots at Helgafell, but both were dismissed by bishops of Skálholt soon after.[55] In 1308, after the death of Abbot Guðmundr, Þórðr Guðmundsson, a canon from Viðey, was elected as successor. Þórðr remained abbot of Helgafell until 1324 when the then bishop of Skálholt, the Dominican Jón Halldórsson (1275–1339), chose a different cleric from Helgafell as the new abbot.[56] This canon, Þorsteinn Þorvaldsson, died in 1328/29, and the next abbot, Þorkell Einarson,

49 The lack of Helgafell abbots hailing from northern Iceland is possibly explained by the late establishment of houses of canons regular there. It was only in 1295 and 1493 that the two Augustinian houses at Möðruvellir and Skriðá were established in the north and east of Iceland. The short-lived, northern Icelandic Augustinian house at Saurbær (1200–24) had no known contact with other houses of the same congregation in Iceland.

50 On Grímr Hólmsteinsson and *Jóns saga baptista* II, see Vadum, 'Canon Law and Politics'.

51 Marner, 'Väterzitate ond Politik', p. 57.

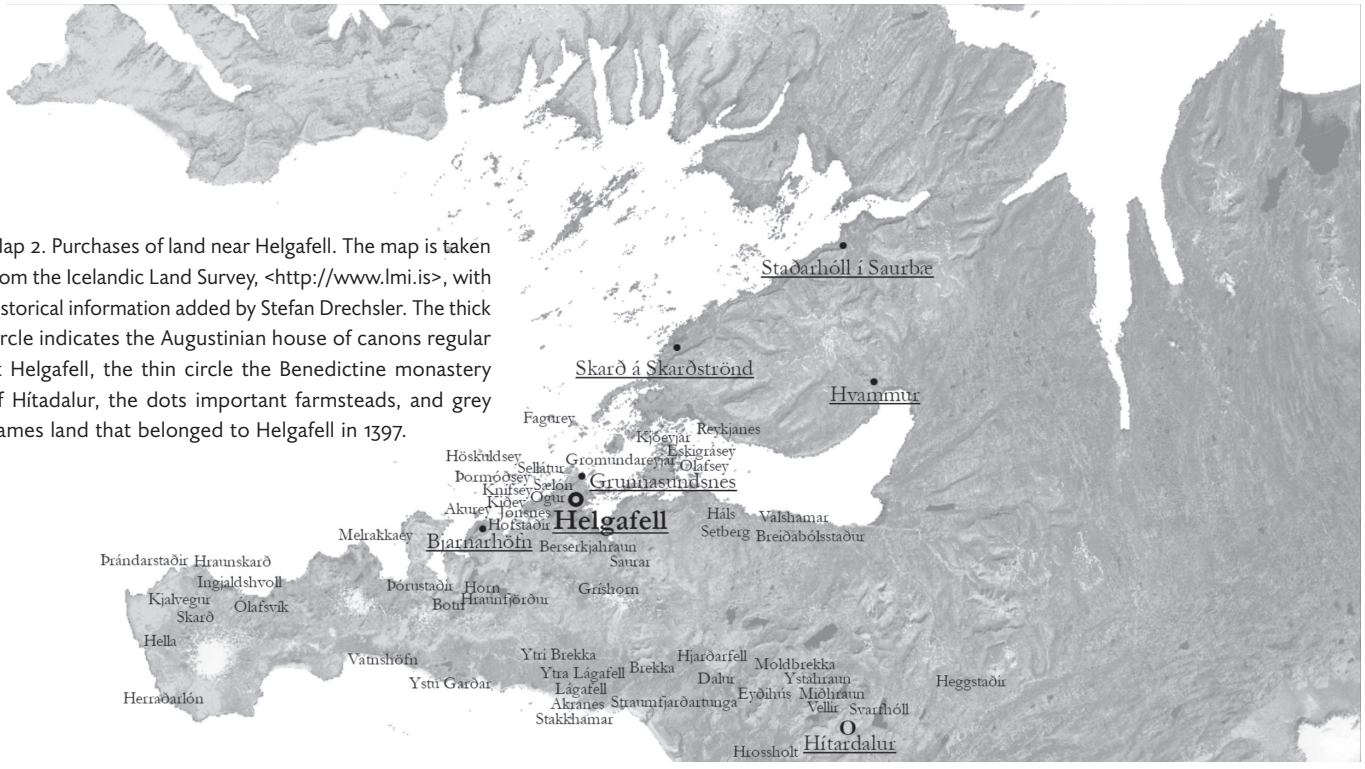
52 *Staðamál síðari* is a similar result of the conflict between bishops and farmers of Iceland over privately owned parish churches as the *staðamál fyrra* mentioned above. The case eventually ended with the reconciliation of Ögvaldsnes, Norway, in 1297, which stipulated that Icelandic farmers should only control the parish churches where they owned half or more of the land. For *staðarmál síðari*, see Magnús Stefánsson, *Staður og staðamál*, pp. 191–216.

53 Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, p. 142.

54 Kalinke, 'Augustinus saga', p. 435; *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, II, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 328.

55 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, pp. 346 and 325–53.

56 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 346. See also Drechsler, 'Jón Halldórsson and Law Manuscripts'.



Map 2. Purchases of land near Helgafell. The map is taken from the Icelandic Land Survey, <http://www.lmi.is>, with historical information added by Stefan Drechsler. The thick circle indicates the Augustinian house of canons regular at Helgafell, the thin circle the Benedictine monastery of Hítadalur, the dots important farmsteads, and grey names land that belonged to Helgafell in 1397.

also came from Viðey to Helgafell, but in 1344, he too was dismissed by the then bishop of Skálholt, Jón Sigurðsson. Instead, Þorsteinn Snorrason from Helgafell was chosen as his replacement.[57] During the time of Abbot Þorsteinn, Eysteinn Ásgrímsson, a cleric formerly of Þykkvibær, was *officialis* at Helgafell in 1349–53.[58]

Literature composed at Viðey had some impact on manuscripts written at Helgafell. One individual who was somewhat related to literary activities at Helgafell was undoubtedly Styrmir Kárason (*c.* 1170–1245), a *lǫgsǫgumaðr* and priest who was abbot of Viðey in 1235–45.[59] He was probably educated in the northern Icelandic Benedictine monastery at Þingeyrar before he became a house priest for his uncle, the politician and historian Snorri Sturluson, in *c.* 1228.[60] At Viðey, Styrmir wrote, among other texts, the *Lífssaga Óláfs helga* and a version of *Sverris saga*, two important kings' sagas (*Konunga sögur*).[61] The latter was used by the previously mentioned cleric Magnús Þórhallsson from Helgafell for the impressive kings' saga manuscript SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), while the former was used by the first scribe of the same codex, Jón Þórðarson.[62] Parts of the only manuscript known from Viðey, the thirteenth-century computistic and theological handbook SÁM, GKS 1812 4to, were most likely written by Styrmir himself.[63] Styrmir wrote in GKS 1812 4to an obituary including the death dates of abbots from Helgafell until 1244. Although only one leaf in GKS 1812 4to survives that contain this obituary (f. 35), it seems likely that parts of it were composed at Helgafell.[64] A copy of this text is known to have been used soon after

57 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, pp. 352–53.

58 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 354.

59 A *lǫgsǫgumaðr* (pl. *lǫgsǫgumenn*) is a fairly unique Scandinavian legal office, which is largely based on vernacular oral tradition of local laws. The office of *lǫgsǫgumaðr* was established in 930 in Iceland and lasted until the end of the commonwealth period in 1262–64. For the function and legal background of the *lǫgsǫgumaðr* in medieval Iceland until 1264, see Dennis, Foote, and Perkins, 'Introduction'.

60 *Flateyjarbók*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal, II, p. xii; III, p. ix.

61 Old Icelandic *Konunga sögur* (kings' sagas) tell of the lives and deeds of (often semi-mythic) Nordic kings. Kings' sagas were composed in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Among the oldest kings' sagas is *Sverris saga*, parts of which were written in the first years of the thirteenth century at the court of the king whom the saga concerns, Sverrir Sigurðarson (*c.* 1145–1202). The *Lífssaga Óláfs helga* is a redaction of the *Óláfs saga helga*, which tells of the deeds of Óláfr *helgi* Haraldsson (995–1030), the later St Olav. Apart from a few chapters that are part of the kings' saga codex SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), *Lífssaga Óláfs helga* is now lost, but we know that it was written by Styrmir Kárason in *c.* 1220. On the evolution and content of the kings' sagas, see Ármann Jakobsson, 'Royal Biography'.

62 *Sverris saga*, ed. by Þorleifur Hauksson, p. liv; *Harðar saga, Bárðar saga*, ed. by Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, pp. xliv–xlvi; Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók*, pp. 211–12.

63 Lönnroth, 'Styrmir's Hand'. Nevertheless, see also Stefán Karlsson, 'Alfræði Sturlu Þórðarsonar', pp. 47–50.

64 Lönnroth, 'Styrmir's Hand'.

completion by Styrmir's nephew, the politician and saga-writer Sturla Þórðarson (1214–84), for a section named *Helgafellsártíðaskrá* in an encyclopaedic manuscript of which today only fragments survive: Copenhagen, Københavns Universitetsbibliotek, Membrana Reseiana 6.[65] Sturla Þórðarson used his version of this obituary for *Íslendingasaga*, which, in terms of content, forms about half of the entire *Sturlunga saga* corpus.[66]

It is likely that the texts of Styrmir and Sturla have direct connections to Helgafell:[67] it might well be that Styrmir received parts of his text for GKS 1812 4to directly from an unknown copy from Helgafell while working for the famous saga-writer and politician Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241) at the estate of Hvammur, located near Helgafell (Map 2). Finally, *Laxdœla saga* also displays parts of a version of *Íslendingabók* written by Sturla, which ultimately derives from a now-lost model originally written by Styrmir.[68] In conclusion, Helgafell writings show that, during the first half of the thirteenth century, the western Icelandic monastery was in contact with the powerful, local Sturlungar family, to which Sturla Þórðarson and his uncle Snorri Sturluson belonged, and, more distantly, with the cleric and writer Styrmir Kárason from the southern Icelandic Augustinian house of canons regular at Viðey.

By the end of the fourteenth century, Helgafell housed twenty canons, in contrast to approximately fifteen some twenty years earlier, and about five in 1186.[69] Twenty priests is a number that likely reflects a normal-sized Augustinian house of canons regular of its time, since similar numbers are found in other European houses adhering to the same order.[70] Despite the literary activity and contact with the local aristocracy mentioned above, Helgafell's wealth remained small during the thirteenth century, with only a few purchases of land recorded.[71] Most of the properties that were in the possession of the monastery by 1280 were located in the direct neighbourhood of the monastery, almost similar to an earlier *máldagi* written by the first Abbot Ǫgmundr at Helgafell in 1186.[72] Nevertheless, an increase in the extent of fishing grounds in Breiðafjörður is attested in the second *máldagi* from 1280, which may have paved the way for the trading of fish in the following century.[73]

In the fourteenth century, the quantity of land belonging to Helgafell increased dramatically.[74] One of the factors leading to this increase in wealth might be that, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the number of tax-paying farmers in the western part of Iceland rose from approximately 900 to 1100. This, in turn, might have contributed to the overall amount of land acquired by Helgafell.[75] More importantly, in the second half of that century, under the rule of Abbot Ásgrímr Jónsson (1352–78/79) and his successors Guðmundr Arason (1379–90) and Þorsteinn Snorrason (1391–1403), the monastery became the largest owner of land in Snæfellsnes.[76] Ásgrímr increased the number of properties to forty-six in 1357–77, many of which were located in the eastern part of the peninsula and in the south.[77] These purchases of land may be separated into four sections:[78] the land immediately surrounding Helgafell, the land in the southern part of eastern Snæfellsnes in Miklaholtshreppur, the fishing grounds on the western part encircling the glacier that gives the peninsula its name, and the fishing grounds at Breiðafjörður in the north (by 1397, the monastery owned fifty-three plots of land and a large number of fishing grounds in Breiðafjörður).[79] In 1355, the monastery owned an unusually large number of fishing grounds, which can be seen in a list created by the then bishop of Skálholt, Gyrðir Ívarsson (1350–60) of the fishing grounds owned by the Helgafell religious house.[80] Some of the acquired lands certainly provided good space for herding sheep, and two of these purchases mention the acquisition of cattle, goats, and sheep,[81] while others indicate a trade in *vaðmál*,[82] fish, and

65 For Membr. Res. 6, see Stefán Karlsson, 'Alfræði Sturlu Þórðarsonar', with further references.

66 Stefán Karlsson, 'Alfræði Sturlu Þórðarsonar', pp. 47–50; see also Sverrir Jakobsson, 'Codex Reseniani'.

67 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, pp. v–vi.

68 Hermann Pálsson and Edwards, 'Introduction', p. 12.

69 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, I, ed. by Jón Sigurðsson, p. 282; *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 328; *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 169.

70 See Clark, *The Observances in Use*, p. 62. A comparable number of nuns probably also lived at the northern Icelandic Benedictine nunnery at Reynistaður in the fourteenth century. For this, see Drechsler, 'Reynistaðakirkja hin forna', pp. 35–36.

71 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 115–16.

72 See Árni Daníel Júlíusson, *Jarðeignir kirkjunnar 1000–1550*, p. 34.

73 See Sverrir Jakobsson, *Saga Breiðfirðinga*, pp. 225–27.

74 See Sverrir Jakobsson, 'From Reciprocity to Manorialism', pp. 284–85.

75 See Björn Þorsteinsson and Bergsteinn Jónsson, *Íslandssaga til okkar daga*, p. 133.

76 On the economy of Helgafell, see Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, pp. 68–80; Sverrir Jakobsson, *Saga Breiðfirðinga*, pp. 217–23; and Sverrir Jakobsson, 'Frá Helgafellsklaustri til Stapaumboðs', pp. 90–100.

77 See Árni Daníel Júlíusson, *Jarðeignir kirkjunnar 1000–1550*, p. 44.

78 Sverrir Jakobsson, *Saga Breiðfirðinga*, pp. 219–20.

79 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 167.

80 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 105–06.

81 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 313 and 315.

82 Wadmal, Old Norse *vaðmál*, is a type of woollen fabric produced in medieval western Scandinavia. It was used as a medium of exchange, among other things as a form of commodity with

silver.[83] This trade was unlikely to have been a source of major income for the convent, as the devastating Black Death in northern Europe in 1349 (and later) reduced most of the Atlantic trade to a minimum for several decades.[84] Nevertheless, apart from the decreasing trade, the Black Death did not have much of an impact on Helgafell around the middle of the fourteenth century as it only arrived on the shores of Iceland in 1402–04.[85] The production of the Helgafell manuscripts could well be a logical consequence of this economic growth, since in the second half of the fourteenth century, a number of local people were trained as scribes at Helgafell, most likely in exchange for land acquisitions.[86]

In 1370, Abbot Ásgrímr bought, among other things, the harbour at nearby Grunnasundsnes (now Stykkishólmur) on Snæfellsnes, which at that time was plausibly one of the largest trading ports in western Iceland (see Map 2).[87] The export of fish from there is very likely to have taken place, but no explicit reference supports this claim. During the 1370s, *Gottskálksannáll*, an annal whose oldest section was presumably copied from a model initially written at Helgafell,[88] mentions a large number of seals that were washed ashore at Helgafell.[89] Sealskin is known to have been used as covering material for manuscripts produced in Iceland, examples of which survive from the thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries. It is possible that manuscripts produced at Helgafell were similarly covered.[90] Even so, little information on book production is reflected in the four church *máldagar* from Helgafell up until the end of the fourteenth century.[91] It is worth noting that an inventory issued by Bishop Oddgeir Þorsteinsson (1365–81) in 1377/78 suggests that several manuscripts were definitely used at the monastery:[92] Sagas on St Augustine (*Augustinus saga*), Mary (*Maríu saga*), St John the Evangelist (*Jóns saga postula*), three missals, and an unknown number of codices including saints' sagas *per anni circulum* (in the order in which their feast days occurred). In 1280, the Helgafell site was dedicated to John the Apostle and the church and its lands to the same saint and to the Holy Virgin.[93] It is likely that most of these manuscripts were produced at Helgafell, but none of them survived the Reformation.

At the time that Abbot Ǫgmundr moved the monastery to Helgafell in 1184 or 1185, the monastic community owned around 120 books,[94] which is in many ways standard for a monastic library in Iceland at that time.[95] According to the already mentioned church inventory issued by Bishop Vilchin (1391–1405) in 1397,[96] a slightly larger number of books is recorded some twelve or thirteen years later, with the monastery owning almost one hundred (unidentified) Latin books, about thirty-five manuscripts written in the vernacular, as well as items used for church services. Specifically mentioned in this later inventory are four (unspecified) textbooks, three missals, three sets of hymnals with psalms for the whole church year, two independent hymn books, and three sequence books. In addition to these codices, the convent possessed other significant riches at this time in the form of chalices, patens, and other precious items for use in its church. Despite the large amount of land that Abbot Ásgrímr acquired in *c.* 1350–78, the accumulated wealth of Helgafell is not well reflected in the *máldagi*, which was written down about a year before Guðmundr Arason became abbot in 1379.[97] Only during the time of Bishop Guðmundr did the monastery acquire significant

which tax could be paid to the king after the fall of the Icelandic Commonwealth in 1262–64.

83 Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, p. 159, with further references. Nevertheless, the various (regional) medieval Icelandic annals do not simultaneously follow consistent patterns, and there is a limit to which these annals can be used as trustworthy sources for Icelandic trade in the Middle Ages. See Boulhosa, 'Of Fish and Ships in Medieval Iceland', pp. 179–81.

84 Björn Þorsteinsson and Bergsteinn Jónsson, *Íslandssaga til okkar daga*, p. 136.

85 For the Black Death in Iceland, see Gunnar Karlsson and Helgi Skúli Kjartansson, 'Plágunar miklu á Íslandi'.

86 For this, see Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, pp. 145–47.

87 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 24–25; Sverrir Jakobsson, 'Frá Helgafellsklaustri til Stapaumboðs', p. 90.

88 Hermann Pálsson, *Eftir þjóðveldið*, p. 76.

89 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, pp. 363–64. On the medieval Icelandic annals, see Jakob Benediktsson, 'Annals, Iceland (and Norway)'.

90 Several Icelandic manuscripts produced before the Black Death feature sealskin covers: KB, MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 15, the so-called Old Icelandic Homily Book, from *c.* 1200; the *Njáls saga* codex SÁM, GKS 2870 4to (Gráskinna) from *c.* 1300; and the already discussed composite manuscript from Viðey, SÁM, GKS 1812 4to dated to *c.* 1225–50 and 1300–1400. For the dating of these manuscripts, see *The Icelandic Homily Book*, ed. by de Leeuw van Weenen, pp. 3–4 and 25; Kålund, *Katalog*, II, 38–39 and 55–56; and Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, p. v. For medieval Icelandic book covers, see Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Skrifaðar bækur', p. 81.

91 Four *máldagar* from Helgafell state the inventory of its church in 1186, 1280, 1377/78, and 1397. For these, see *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, I, ed. by Jón Sigurðsson, p. 282; *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, II, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 115–16; *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 325–28; and *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 167–71.

92 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 328–29.

93 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, II, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 115–16.

94 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, I, ed. by Jón Sigurðsson, p. 282.

95 Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, p. 133.

96 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 167–71.

97 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 325–28.

wealth, at least according to the inventory from 1397 mentioned above. This augmentation of its resources might be closely related to both Guðmundr and his successor Þorsteinn Snorrason. In the late 1380s, Þorsteinn became *officialis* for the whole Skálholt diocese following the departure of Bishop Mikael (1382–91), who left Iceland in 1391 never to return. According to an annal written by the Helgafell scribe and illuminator Magnús Þórhallsson in the already mentioned kings' saga manuscript Flateyjarbók, the so-called *Flateyjarbókarannáll*, Þorsteinn maintained the diocese of Skálholt in good financial order,[98] and it is likely that his success is related to the previous economic rise of Helgafell. *Vilchinsmáldagi* indicates a number of items in the church which were clearly imported, such as a statue of John the Apostle made of alabaster, a number of (likely) wooden statues in the choir, several (most likely) Norwegian altar frontals, embroidery works, and eight glass windows.[99] In addition, a description of the embellishment of various rooms in the monastery with embroidery works indicates that not only the church itself, but the whole monastery enjoyed prosperity in the period *c*. 1377/78–97. The increase of such luxurious items suggests that both Abbot Ásgrímr and his two successors Guðmundr and Þorsteinn were successful in bringing substantial wealth to Helgafell. The manuscripts of the Helgafell group and related works were all produced during the time when these three men were abbots at Helgafell, in *c*. 1349–1403.

During the rule of Abbot Ásgrímr, wealthy farmers in the vicinity of Helgafell, such as those from the nearby farm of Bjarnarhöfn (Map 2), established economic and personal contacts with the Augustinian house of canons regular.[100] Most important among these was the magnate Snorri Andrésson, who sold several properties to Helgafell in the 1360s, one of them in exchange for his post as *próventumaðr* of the monastery.[101] He had previously received a now-lost manuscript called *Kolbrún as part of the payment for another property.[102] Snorri himself bound the theological handbook DAM, AM 671 4to according to a note he himself wrote on f. 63^{r} of the manuscript, which was likely finished in *c*. 1340.[103] It is possible, although unverifiable, that Snorri also worked at Helgafell as a bookbinder when the Helgafell manuscripts were written in *c*. 1350–90. Yet, AM 671 4to was to the most extent produced in western Iceland, and it may have been brought to Helgafell by Snorri after it was completed.[104] This scenario would fit the arrangements of a scriptorium as described above in the Parisian *Liber ordinis Sancti Victoris*, according to which a house of canons regular following the French-Augustinian congregation includes a librarian, who would take care not only of the internal library but also all tasks relating to book production, including inviting scribes for the writing of manuscripts. Such a scriptorium would have housed two scribes, both of whom were selected by the abbot and who would follow the instructions of the librarian.[105] As indicated in the introduction, is has indeed been suggested that Helgafell housed two scribes. The time at which Snorri became *próventumaðr* in the early 1360s also suggests that he might have been such a librarian at the time when the Helgafell manuscripts were produced. While these details must remain conjecture, since no explicit evidence attests the existence of a formally organized scriptorium at Helgafell, nevertheless the surviving corpus of manuscripts testifies to the production of manuscripts at Helgafell and in the surrounding area of western Iceland.[106]

98 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 419. The *Flateyjarbókarannáll* draws on first-hand information about the northern Icelandic client Jón Hákonarson and was most likely also written at his estate, Viðidalstunga. For *Flateyjarbókarannáll*, see Rowe, 'The Flateyjarbók Annals'; for the manuscript SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), see Chapters 3–4 of the present book.

99 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 167–68.

100 Sverrir Jakobsson, *Saga Breiðfirðinga*, p. 220.

101 A *próventumaðr* is a man who has given all his property to a church or monastery. In exchange, he could then join the monastery.

102 For the land purchase related to Snorri Andrésson and Helgafell, see *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 134–44 and 313–14; *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 12, 19–20, and 22–23.

103 *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. xl and xli. For the content and production of DAM, AM 671 4to, see Vadum, 'Bruk av kanonisk litteratur i Nidarosprovinsen', and Drechsler, 'Jón Halldórsson and Law Manuscripts'.

104 For Snorri Andrésson, the manuscript DAM, AM 671 4to, and Helgafell, see Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Voru scriptoria í íslenskum klaustrum?', pp. 184–89.

105 *Liber Ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, ed. by Miles and Jocqué, pp. 78–86; see also Gunnar Harðarson, 'Viktorklaustrið', p. 140, with further references.

106 Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Voru scriptoria í íslenskum klaustrum?', p. 184.

CHAPTER 3

The Scriptorium

In *c.* 1350–90, a total of sixteen scribes and seven illuminators and rubricators worked together with one or both trained main hands (H Hel 1 and H Hel 2) on the manuscripts that today are considered to constitute the Helgafell group. The orthography of the first scribe, H Hel 1, is undoubtedly one of the best studied examples from the Icelandic fourteenth century.[1] H Hel 1 was active in *c.* 1350–75 and was responsible for either the whole contents or parts of eleven manuscripts and fragments.[2] As is usual for trained medieval Icelandic scribes,[3] the contents of these manuscripts and fragments cover a wide range of vernacular literature. In common with most fourteenth-century Icelandic scribes, H Hel 1 is influenced by Norwegian orthography.[4] At the same time, a particularly conservative western Icelandic orthography has been identified in the writing of H Hel 1 on the basis of a number of outdated orthographic features otherwise only known from scribes who were active in the previous century.[5] Due to a number of western Icelandic orthographic features, it is likely that the scribe was trained at Helgafell, although this remains conjecture. The scribe may have adopted a local, conservative writing style that he knew from (now lost) older manuscripts originating from the same place or nearby. The eleven manuscripts and fragments written by H Hel 1 have been categorized into four chronological subgroups, listed in Table 5.[6]

This chapter discusses the output of the two scribes H Hel 1 and H Hel 2 in relationship with other manuscripts and fragments internal and external to the Helgafell manuscript group, as well as codices and fragments that originate from other scriptoria in fourteenth-century Iceland. The chapter presents the Helgafell manuscripts and fragments with a particular focus on the different stages of book production and on the historiated book painting featured. It is structured around the temporal palaeographic developments of the main scribes, as seen in the sixteen manuscripts and fragments of the Helgafell group listed in Table 1.

Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol. (ff. 1^{v}–12^{v} and ff. 27^{r}–28^{v})

Apart from the fact that it appears to be the oldest manuscript written by H Hel 1, the *Heilagra manna sögur* codex DAM, AM 233 a fol. represents a key manuscript in the Helgafell group, as it is the only codex believed to include the two hands H Hel 1 and H Hel 2 in one manuscript. AM 233 a fol. comprises twenty-nine leaves, seven of which are severely damaged (ff. 4–6, ff. 9–10, and ff. 13–14). None of the ten *Heilagra manna sögur* are complete in the manuscript, and it is no longer possible to establish a coherent structure of the original binding and content. Furthermore, the provenance of the individual folios is unknown until the seventeenth century.[7] Nevertheless, one can assume that AM 233 a fol. must have once been an impressive manuscript; the largest leaves measure 385 × 320 mm with approximately forty-seven lines written in two columns, making AM 233 a fol. one of the largest codices from the group. In its form today, the codex was written by four scribes, only two of which belong to the wider Helgafell network (Table 6).

The three parts do not appear to be related to one another, although they all date from the fourteenth

1 For the orthography of H Hel 1, see *Stjorn*, ed. by Unger, p. x; *Postola sögur*, ed. by Unger, p. xii; *Nokkur blöð úr Hauksbók*, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. xxiii–xxiv; Jón Helgason, 'Ortografien i AM 350 fol.'; *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 983–84; *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 9–22; Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi'; *Gyðinga saga*, ed. by Wolf, pp. xv–xxxiii; and *Rómverjasaga*, ed. by Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, pp. xxxvi–xlix.

2 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.

3 Stefán Karlsson, 'The Localisation and Dating of Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts', pp. 149–50.

4 See Stefán Karlsson, 'Om norvagismer i islandske håndskrifter'.

5 Jón Helgason, 'Ortografien i AM 350 fol.', pp. 46–48; *Skarðsbók*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, p. 6.

6 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 9–22; Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', p. 348; Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande', p. 179. Stefán Karlsson (*Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, p. 21) has previously suggested that the first two of these temporal stages were written by one scribe, and the later stages by another scribe. In 'Lovskriver i to lande', p. 179, he concluded that all manuscripts were written by one scribe.

7 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 32–35.

Table 5. Grouping of manuscripts and fragments (co-)written by H Hel 1.

Group	Shelf Mark, Name, and Section	Text(s)	Date
I	AM 233 a fol., ff. 1^{v}–12^{v} and ff. 27^{r}–28^{v}	*Heilagra manna sögur*	1350–60
II	AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), ff. 1^{va}–17^{vb}, ff. 24^{ra}–150^{va}	*Jónsbók*, *Hirðskrá*, *Kristinréttr Árna Þorláks-sonar*, *Réttarbætr*, *Saktal Jónsbókar*, *Sáttargerð í Túnsberg*, Statutes	1363
	AM 226 fol., ff. 1^{r}–61^{v}, ff. 70^{ra}–158^{rb}	*Stjórn* I, *Stjórn* III, *Rómverja saga*, *Alexanders saga*, *Gyðinga saga*	1350–70
	AM 239 fol., ff. 1^{v}–35^{v}	*Heilagra manna sögur*	1360–70
	MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, f. $54^{ra2\text{–}3}$ and f. $57^{ra5\text{–}8}$	*Byskupa sögur*	1360–70
III	AM 325 X 4to & AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to	*Konunga sögur*	1370
	MS Isl. Perg. 4:0 34, ff. 91^{ra}–128^{ra}	*Réttarbætr*, *Hirðskrá*	1370
	AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), ff. 94^{vb}–98^{vb}	Statutes	1370
IV	AM 219 fol., JS fragm 5, Lbs fragm 6, Þjms 176, & SÁM 2	*Byskupa sögur*	1370–80
	AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi)	*Óláfs saga helga*	1370–90
	AM 383 IV 4to	*Þorláks saga helga*	1370–90
Note: For literature on the dating of these manuscripts and fragments, see Table 1.			

century. The two leaves in the third production unit (Part III) are unconnected to the unit written by H Hel 1. These two fragments were added at a later stage and are regarded as unrelated to Helgafell.[8] Folio 1^{r} was not necessarily always the first leaf, as is indicated by its very well-preserved state.[9] Instead, the empty f. 15^{r}, which initiates the second production unit (Part II), seems to have been an original opening. This separation is also indirectly discernible in a colour-related feature, which strictly distinguishes the first and second units (Parts I and II) from one another and also differentiates between the two scribes H Hel 1 and H Hel 2 in AM 233 a fol. Specifically, the major initials in Part II written by H Hel 2 are all painted in dark green, while those found in Part I written by H Hel 1 are painted in various colours. Furthermore, the minor initials in Part II are generally painted in light green and dark red, while the minor initials in Part I exhibit a greater variety of colours. Finally, the scribes of the two parts have been dated to *c*. 1350–60 and *c*. 1370–75, respectively,[10] and thus the two parts cannot have been written at the same time, despite the fact that the rubricator was the same throughout, possibly the single illuminator of the whole codex, A Hel 2.[11] All of this raises the question of whether AM 233 a fol. was once a single manuscript, or whether it was only assembled by Árni Magnússon when he collected the different sections in the late seventeenth century. Part II was known to have existed as one unit located in one place for some time, while all other leaves were collected from various places in Iceland.[12] Despite the temporal difference, both scribes wrote their sections continuously,[13] and the painter of these two parts appears to be the same.[14] Even so, there is no indication that the two units initially belonged to the same codex.

AM 233 a fol. consists of ten defective sagas of the *Heilagra manna sögur* and *Heilagra meyjar sögur* corpora, four of which belong to Part I, the oldest and first section of the codex written by H Hel 1. In the current state, this part begins with the fragmentary B version of *Jóns saga baptista* II, which, beyond the Helgafell and one slightly earlier and

8 Unger has suggested in *Mariu saga*, ed. by Unger, pp. xxii, xxvii, that ff. 13–14 are written by a single scribe and once belonged to DAM, AM 233 a fol. as well, together with DAM, AM 240 VII fol. Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 30–31, agreed that f. 14 in AM 233 a fol. and AM 240 VII fol. do indeed belong to the same original manuscript and were written by the same hand. But the scribe and origin of f. 13 in AM 233 a fol. remain unclear. Furthermore, AM 240 VII fol. seems to be unrelated to the original production unit of AM 233 a fol., due to the fact that not only the hands of AM 240 VII fol. and AM 233 a fol., but also the mise-en-page, e.g. the number of lines in the columns, differ.

9 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 31.

10 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21; Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna', pp. 218–19.

11 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 32.

12 Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna', p. 205; Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 35.

13 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 35.

14 Liepe, 'Image, Script and Ornamentation', p. 258, argues on stylistic grounds that the two parts of AM 233 a fol. are painted by closely related illuminators. As will be discussed below, they undoubtedly are done by the same book painter.

Table 6. Textual content and dating of AM 233 a fol.

Production Unit	Folios	Text	Part	Hand	Date
I	Ff. 1^{va}–5^{ra24}	*Jóns saga baptista* II, B		H Hel 1	1350–60
	Ff. 5^{ra24}–12^{vb}	*Maríu saga**	*Maríu saga*, St, chs 1–3 (f. $5^{ra24–vb}$)		
			Maríu saga, I, *Maríu jartegnir*, B, chs XV, IV (ff. 6^{ra}–12^{vb})		
III	F. 13		*Maríu saga*, II, *Maríu jartegnir*, ch. LXII	Otherwise unknown	1300–1400†
	F. 14			Otherwise unknown	
II	F. $15^{va–b}$	*Fídesar saga, Spesar ok Karítasar*		H Hel 2	1370–75
	Ff. 16^{ra}–19^{rb}	*Katrínar saga*			
	Ff. 19^{va}–25^{vb}	*Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu*			
	F. $26^{ra1–14}$	*Agnesar saga*			
	Ff. 26^{ra14}–27^{rb1}	*Agǫtu saga*			
	F. $27^{rb17–vb}$	*Margrétar saga*			
I	F. $28^{ra–vb45}$	*Niðrstigningar saga*		H Hel 1	1350–60
	Ff. 28^{vb46}–29^{vb}	*Inventio crucis* / *Kross saga*			

Notes: For literature on the dating of all sections apart from ff. 13–14, see Table 1.
* For the specific parts of *Maríu saga* in AM 233 a fol., see *Mariu saga*, ed. by Unger, p. xxii.
† Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 192.

different version, is known only from later manuscripts.[15] On f. $5^{ra24–vb}$, a short extract of the so-called 'St Version' of the apocryphal *Maríu saga* is featured, followed by a long section of the incomplete *Maríu jartegnir*, both of which are independent of other redactions of the same saga.[16] As discussed above, ff. 13–14 contain parts of *Maríu saga*, too, but these sections were added later and also follow different textual models. *Maríu saga* is ascribed to the early thirteenth-century cleric Bjǫrn Hjaltason (d. 1237/38) from the northern Icelandic Hólar cathedral,[17] while *Jóns saga baptista* II was most likely composed in *c.* 1264–98 by the cleric Grímr Hólmsteinsson at the southern Icelandic monastery of Þykkvibær.[18] It remains unknown how much these texts were changed at Helgafell before they were added to AM 233 a fol.

The penultimate text on f. $28^{ra–vb45}$ is the closing part of *Niðrstigningar saga*, a saga text influenced

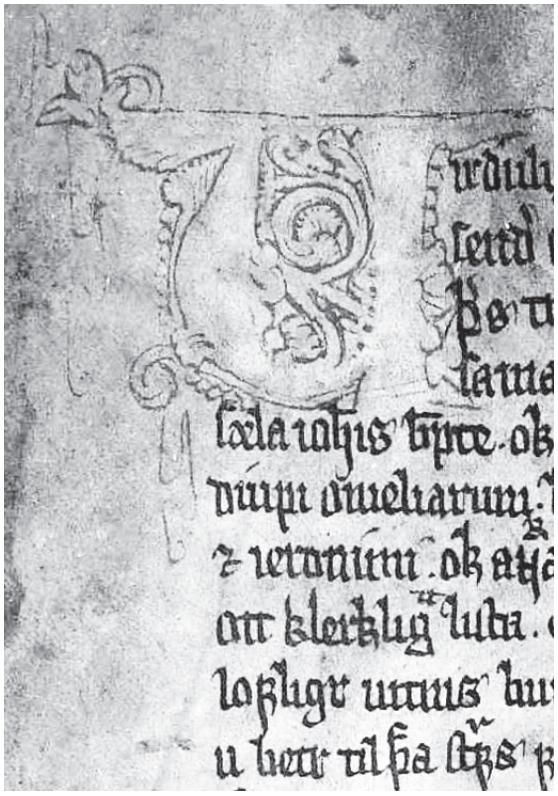


Figure 1. 'Romanesque ornamentation', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. $1^{va1–4}$. 1360. Picture from http://handrit.org. Unless otherwise indicated, all photography from the Arnamagnæanske Samling is by Suzanne Reitz, and reproduced with permission.

15 *Postola sögur*, ed. by Unger, p. xxix; Wolf, *The Legends of the Saints*, p. 164. The slightly earlier version of *Jóns saga baptista* II is found in DAM, AM 232 fol. (ff. 86–107), dated to *c.* 1350. For the dating of this section of AM 232 fol., see Stefán Karlsson, 'Skriververser', p. 692. On the content of *Jóns saga baptista* II, see Chapter 1.

16 *Mariu saga*, ed. by Unger, p. xxii. For *Maríu saga* in its manuscript context, see Najork, *Reading the Old Norse-Icelandic 'Maríu saga'*.

17 Turville-Petre, *Nine Norse Studies*, pp. 105–08.

18 Marner, 'Väterzitate ond Politik', p. 57.

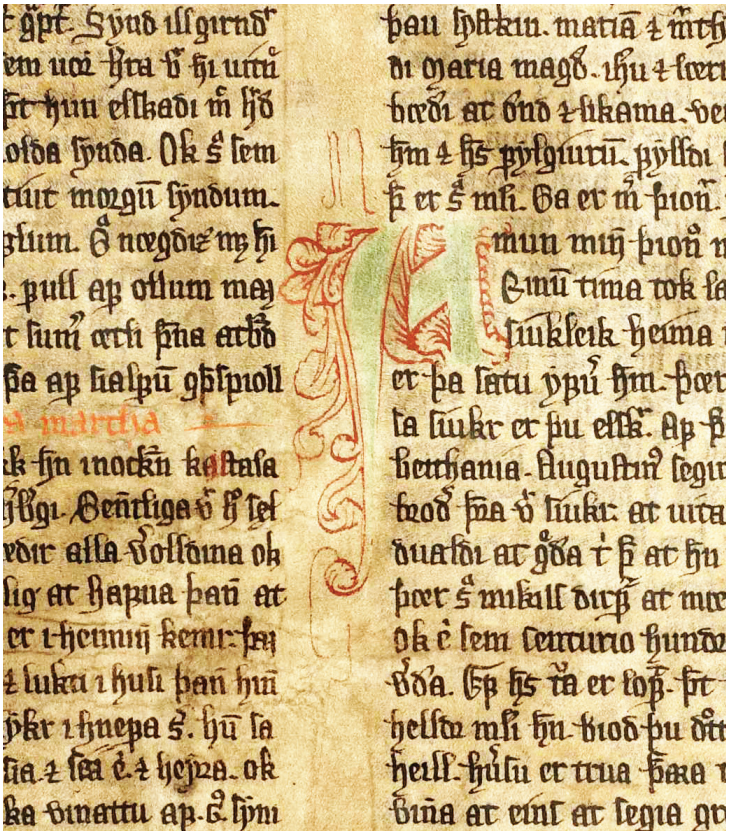


Figure 2. 'Romanesque ornamentation', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. 20$^{vb20–23}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

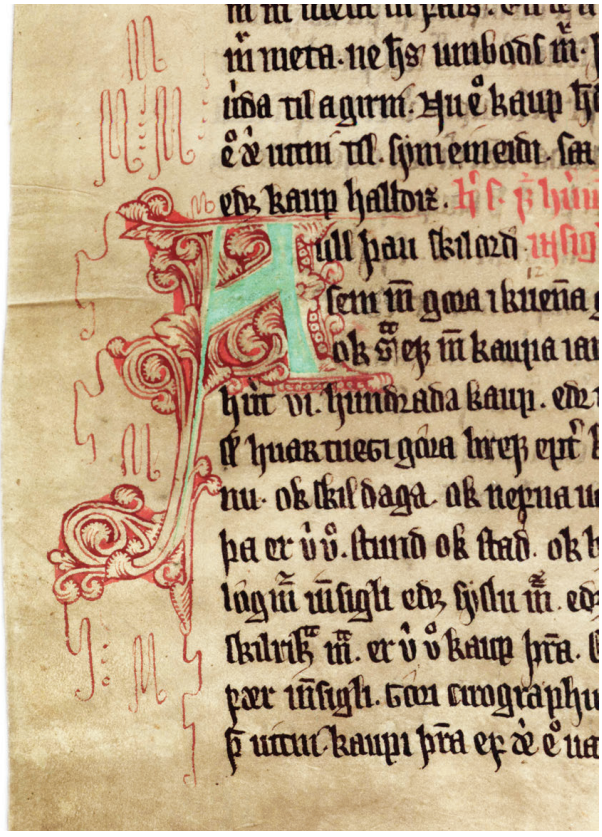


Figure 3. 'Romanesque ornamentation', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 58$^{va18–20}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is. Unless otherwise indicated, all photography from the Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum is by Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir, and reproduced with permission.

primarily by the apocryphal *Descensus ad inferos* by Nicodemus and which is otherwise transmitted in two older, thirteenth-century codices and one fifteenth-century *Heilagra manna sögur* manuscript.[19] AM 233 a fol. follows an older, thirteenth-century redaction of the saga, although no close relationships to other manuscripts can be detected.[20] Finally, on ff. 28$^{vb46–29vb}$, parts of the *Inventio crucis* (also known as *Kross saga*) are featured. Similarly to *Niðrstigningar saga*, *Kross saga* in AM 233 a fol. displays a loosely related recension of a number of medieval Icelandic manuscripts, but none can be classified as a model.[21] In conclusion, the text of AM 233 a fol. includes two independent textual works: the first section on ff. 1–12 includes two sagas that concern the birth and family of Christ, while the second section tells of Christ's decent into hell and the discovery of the Holy Cross. Both parts refer to the life of Christ and, despite their defective state, might once have belonged together.

The historiated initials of the two production units of AM 233 a fol. differ in content and style. The condition of the painting varies across the different leaves, and not all sections of AM 233 a fol. are equally well preserved. Nevertheless, a consistent pattern in the ornamentation of small initials is found in both sections of AM 233 a fol., exemplified in uniformly red-painted foliage and pen-flourishing, *œufs-de-grenouille* (that is, trumpet-formed volute tendrils and palmette flowers), and lobed acanthus leaves with rounded shoots and jagged outlines (Figures 1–2).[22] In comparison with previously assumed similarities to the minor initials in the law codex SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók) from Helgafell, the ornamentation of Skarðsbók shows a more elaborate foliage with a large variety of trefoil leaves and evenly rounded spirals.[23] But an overall similarity in the selection of ornamental models and

19 Magnús Már Lárusson, 'Um Niðurstigningarsögu', pp. 159–60. For the manuscripts, see *Niðrstigninga saga*, ed. and trans. by Bullitta, pp. 21–37.

20 Haugen, 'The Evaluation of Stemmatic Evidence', p. 437.

21 *Gyðinga saga*, ed. by Wolf, p. 83.

22 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 50.

23 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 40.

Table 7. Miniatures and major initials in AM 233 a fol. (ff. 1–12).

Size	Letter	Text	Iconography
F. 1r	Miniature	*Jóns saga baptista* II	John the Baptist, Elizabeth, and Zacharias
F. 1vb10–17	A		John the Baptist
F. 5ra27–37	D	*Maríu saga*	Mary, Christ, Anna, and Joachim

related colouring of the ornamentation does suggest a workshop associated with Helgafell (Figure 3). Accordingly, apart from a miniature added by a further illuminator on f. 1r, the book paintings in both sections of AM 233 a fol. were produced by a single illuminator, A Hel 2.[24] Since the book painting coincides with a single hand that was responsible for the rubrics, it may well have been the same person who was also responsible for paintings and rubrics alike. The miniature, on the other hand, should be classified as the work of another illuminator, here termed A Hel 3.

AM 233 a fol. includes one large miniature and two major initials. Similar to Skarðsbók, the initials in AM 233 a fol. display black outlines of slender figures with narrow-shouldered proportions in elegant, slightly backwards-leaning poses and 'peppercorn eyes'.[25] In comparison to Skarðsbók, however, the figural painting in AM 233 a fol. uses a less advanced style. As is usual for manuscripts of the Helgafell group, the large initials of AM 233 a fol. vary in size and extend into the margins. In addition, the colours of the main initial letter vary between yellow (f. 5ra27–37) and dark red (f. 1r–v), while the colouring of the background (light blue) and the ornamentation of the initial (dark red) is uniform throughout. The iconography and size of these two initials and of the single miniature in AM 233 a fol. are given in Table 7.

AM 233 a fol. begins with a full-page miniature on f. 1r, depicting an intriguing iconographic motif (Figure 4). As the image introduces *Jóns saga baptista* (starting on the verso side of the same folio), the miniature would appear to represent John the Baptist gesturing towards the Lamb of God, flanked by his parents Elizabeth and Zacharias; the Jewish priest is clearly distinguishable by his hat.[26] Also the textual context in the rubric on f. 1vb10–17 refers to John the Baptist and his parents:[27] 'h*er* byriar vpp | pp lifssogu ok pinslar sogu um | helgazta ioh*ann*is baptista sonar Zach*ari*as' (Here begins the story of the life and martyrdom of the most holy John the Baptist, son of Zacharias). Still, the crowned halo and the unusual depiction of the man's hat remain mysterious. The tipped form of the hat seems to suggest a depiction of a Jewish hat, which is seen in a number of English manuscripts produced at the same time.[28] Speaking in favour of regarding the main figure as John the Baptist is a detail in the following main initial on f. 1vb10–17, where the saint is shown in the same pose.

The facial traits, as well as the triple crown halo, of the middle figure relate to a depiction of the head of Christ on f. 1r in SÁM, AM 673 a III 4to (Íslenska Teiknibókin) from *c.* 1330–60 (Figure 5).[29] Íslenska Teiknibókin belongs to the northern Icelandic Benedictine scriptorium at Þingeyrar (Table 8).[30] The group consists of twenty-one manuscripts and fragments, some of which are connected with the core group for stylistic reasons.[31] Similar to the

24 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 24, and Lena Liepe in *Studies*, p. 40, ascribed all figural and ornamental book painting to a single illuminator who also illuminated a second work written by H Hel 1, the law codex SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók). Lena Liepe in 'Image, Script and Ornamentation', pp. 258–61, later suggested that it was scribe H Hel 1 himself who was responsible for the book painting in the two manuscripts. It appears unlikely that he executed all of the book painting in either of the two manuscripts, since his work as a painter would in that case most likely have appeared again in other manuscripts from Helgafell, which they do not.

25 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 24.

26 There are ambiguities in the scene, which could allow for a multivalent meaning. Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 192, identified the hat as a mitre and thus assumed the flanking figures to be a nun and a bishop. This is unlikely since both figures have halos. Fett, 'Miniatyrer fra islandske haandskrifter', pp. 35–36, interpreted the middle figure as John the Baptist with two unknown saints. Shortly afterwards, Halldór Hermannsson, *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 19, suggested a depiction of Christ with Mary and John the Baptist.

27 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 39–40.

28 Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, I, 76.

29 *Íslenska Teiknibókin*, ed. by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, p. 80.

30 For the book painting at Þingeyrar, see Selma Jónsdóttir, *Lýsingar í Stjórnarhandriti*; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Íslenskt saltarbrot í Svíþjóð?'; *Íslenska Teiknibókin*, ed. by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir; and Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Handritalýsingar'.

31 Manuscripts and fragments produced at Þingeyrar in the fourteenth century are numerous. The group has been studied by Jakobsen, *Studier i Clarus saga*; *Catilina and Jugurtha*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson; Jakob Benediktsson, 'Some Observations on Stjórn'; Stefán Karlsson, 'Om norvagismer i islandske håndskrifter'; Stefán Karlsson, 'Saltarabrot í Svíþjóð með Stjórnarhendi'; Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, pp. 10–18 and 66–80; and Johansson, 'Texter i rörelse'.

Figure 4. 'John the Baptist, Elizabeth, and Zacharias', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. 1r. 1360. Picture from http://handrit.org.

diverse content, the group has an extended range of dating, as most of the manuscripts were written in *c.* 1325–75 by two main scribes with various associated illuminators.[32]

Apart from the image in Íslenska Teiknibókin, there is no detectable relationship between the Þingeyrar manuscripts and the Helgafell codices (Diagram 1). Furthermore, in comparison with the Helgafell manuscripts, it is unlikely that the Íslenska Teiknibókin image was painted by the same illuminator. The general facial traits of Christ in the manuscript from Þingeyrar suggest that the miniature in the Helgafell manuscript DAM, AM 233 a fol. was instead illuminated by the book painter A Hel 3 who was trained outside of Helgafell. This seems plausible since the figures in the following initials in AM 233 a fol. are much more closely related to the book painting of other manuscripts written by H Hel 1, such as the previously mentioned Skarðsbók.

It is likely that the figure in the lower margin on f. 1^{r} in AM 233 a fol. depicts the painter of the image, or an unknown client.[33] This is indicated by the fact that the figures above and below are of different size, a known way of differentiating between holy and secular people. Furthermore, it is likely that the iconographic model used for this figure was taken from the iconographic model of Jacob's Ladder.[34] The figure on f. 1^{r} may, therefore, depict its single illuminator (A Hel 3). The book painter might have wanted to present a vision to the reader in the same way as what is described in I Gen 10–22.[35] This would also explain the unusual grouping and iconography of the holy people in the miniature. Finally, the pointing hand of the illuminator was possibly intended to underline the difference between the earthly kingdom below — to which the illuminator belongs — and the heavenly one above.

Figure 5. 'Head of Christ', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 673 a III 4to (Íslenska Teiknibókin), f. 1^{r}. 1360.

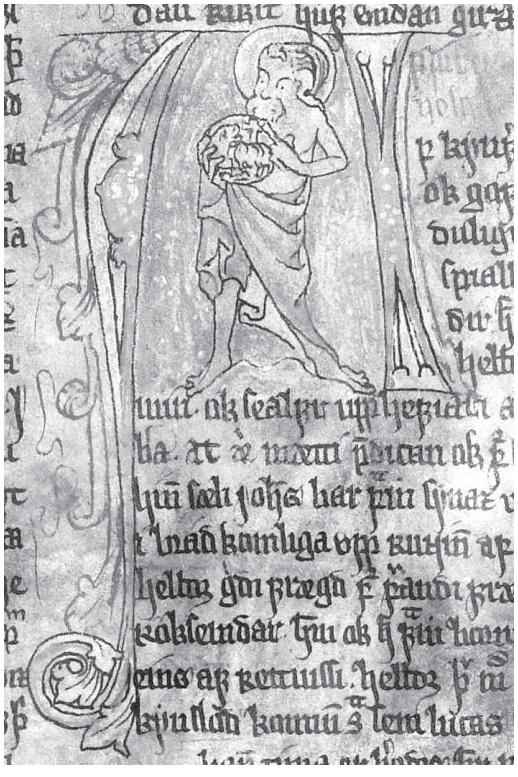


Figure 6. 'John the Baptist', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. 1$^{va10–17}$. 1360. Picture from http://handrit.org.

32 For the dating of the Þingeyrar manuscripts, see Jakob Benediktsson, 'Some Observations on Stjórn', pp. 16–23, with further references. Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Handritalýsingar', pp. 298–301, counts nine illuminators who were responsible for the pen-flourishing of most of the manuscripts listed above, as well as the following manuscripts: SÁM, AM 649 a 4to and DAM, AM 54 fol. Finally, Liepe, 'The Knight and the Dragon Slayer', pp. 181–83, suggested that the *Njáls saga* codex SÁM, AM 133 fol. (Kálfalækjarbók) should also be considered part of the wider Þingeyrar workshop due to its book painting. For establishing different styles of pen-flourishing, see the concept of 'l'ornemaniste' by Patricia Stirnemann in 'Fils de la Vierge', p. 59.

33 *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 20.

34 Drechsler, 'Zur Ikonographie der AM 350 fol.', p. 77.

35 Drechsler, 'Zur Ikonographie der AM 350 fol.', p. 77.

Table 8. The Þingeyrar manuscripts.

Shelf Mark and Name	Collection	No. of Folios	Hand (H)	Illuminator (A)	Main Content	Date	Cols	Lines	Size (max.)
AM 667 IX 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	2	H Þin 1 (ff. 1^{r}–2^{v})	None	*Jóns saga baptista* I	1350[36]	1	28	212 × 155 mm
AM 242 fol. (Codex Wormianus)	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	68	H Þin 1 (ff. 1^{v}–30^{v}, ff. 37^{r}–60^{v}, ff. 70^{r}–75^{v}, ff. 78^{r}–85^{r})	Unknown (f. $1^{v1–6}$, f. $20^{v1–4}$, f. $47^{v8–10}$, f. $78^{r1–4}$)	*Snorra Edda*, the four Grammatical Treatises	1340–70[37]	1	31–32	280 × 202 mm
		6	Ole Worm (?) (ff. 31–36)	None	*Skáldskaparmál*, Part I	1635–37[38]	1	27–28	
		9	Sveinn Jónsson (or Magnús Ólafsson?) (ff. 61–69)		*Háttatal*		2	46	
		2	Ole Worm (?) (ff. 76–77)				1	25	
AM 240 IV fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	3	H Þin 1 (ff. 1^{r}–3^{v})	None	*Maríu saga*	1350[39]	2	40	282 × 158 mm
NRA 62	Riksarkivet, Oslo	5	H Þin 1 (ff. 1^{r}–5^{v})	None	*Karlamagnús saga*	1350[40]	2	Unknown	Unknown
AM 162 A β fol.	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	1	H Þin 1 (f. $1^{r–v}$)	None	*Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*	1350[41]	1	40	210 × 170 mm
NRA 60 A	Riksarkivet, Oslo	1	H Þin 1 (f. 1^{v})	None	*Stjórn* I	1300–1400[42]	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
AM 229 I fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	16	H Þin 2 (f. 1–16)	None	*Stjórn* III	1350[43]	2	34	270 × 220 mm
AM 544 4to	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	107	Hand 1 (ff. 1^{r}–14^{v}), Hand 2 (ff. 15^{r}–18^{v31}), H Þin 2 (f. $18^{v31–35}$), Hand 3 (f. 19^{r}), Hand 4 (f. 19^{v}), H Þin 1 (ff. 20^{r}–21^{r}), Haukr Erlendsson (ff. 22^{r}–34^{r}, ff. 36^{r}–59^{r}, ff. 60^{r}–80^{r26}, ff. 99^{r14}–100^{r2}, ff. 101^{v}–107^{v5}), Hand 5 (f. 35^{v}), Hand 6 (ff. 80^{r26}–81^{r7}, ff. 81^{r9}–85^{v}, ff. 87^{r14}–99^{r14}), Hand 7 (f. $81^{r7–9}$), Hand 8 (f. $86^{r1–7}$), Hand 9 (ff. 86^{r7}–87^{r13}), Hand 10 (ff. 100^{r3}–101^{r}), Hand 11 (f. $107^{v6–42}$)[44]	Unknown (f. 19r)	*Heimlýsing, Heimspeki og helgifræði, Vǫluspá, Trójumanna saga, Breta sögur, Marlínusspá, Þættir, Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks, Fóstbræðra saga, Algorismus, Skálda saga, Prognastica Temporum*	1290–1350[45]	1	Various	243 × 158 mm
AM 227 fol.	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	128	H Þin 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–59^{rb}, 90^{rb}–128^{vb}), H Þin 2 (ff. 59^{va}–90^{ra})	A Þin 1 ([/Flúrari I, ff. 1^{v}–51^{v}] f. 1^{v}, f. 23^{v}, f. 33^{v}, f. 38r, ff. 71^{v}, f. 88^{v}, f. 115^{r}), Flúrari II (ff. 52^{v}–79^{v}, ff. 89^{r}–95^{r}, ff. 104^{r}–119^{v}, ff. 124^{v}–128^{v}), Flúrari III (ff. 84^{r}–88^{r}, ff. 96^{r}–103^{v}, ff. 119^{v}–123^{v})	*Stjórn* I, *Stjórn* III	1350[46]	2	44	355 × 275 mm
Codex Ps. 24	Stockholm, Riksarkivet	10	H Þin 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–10^{vb})	A Þin 2 (ff. 1^{ra}–10^{vb}), Flúrari III (ff. 1^{ra}–10^{vb})	*Psaltarium*	1350[47]	2	27	230 × 160 mm

AM 657 a–b 4to	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	100[48]	H Þin 1 (ff. 1[r]–17[vs]), Hand II (ff. 17[v6]–22[v]), Hand III (ff. 29[r]–74[v], ff. 98[r]–100[v]), Hand IV (ff. 23[r]–28[v], ff. 75[r]–97[v])[49]	Flúrari VI (ff. 1[r]–100[v])	*Heilagra manna sögur, Íslendzk æventýri*	1350[50]	1	34	222 × 173 mm
AM 673 a III 4to (Íslenska Teiknibókin)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	21	A-Teiknarinn (?) (f. 1[r])	A-Teiknarinn (f. 1[r–v], f. 2[r–v], f. 5[r–v], f. 6[r–v], f. 9[r–v], f. 10[r–v], f. 13[r–v], f. 14[r])	*Íslenska Teiknibókin*	1330–60[51]	Various	Various	180 × 135 mm
			None	B-Teiknarinn (f. 3[r], f. 12[r])		1350–90[52]			
			C-Teiknarinn (f. 8[r], f. 18[r], f. 20[v])	C-Teiknarinn (f. 1[v], f. 3[v], f. 4[v], f. 6[r–v], f. 7[r–v], f. 8[r–v], f. 9[v], f. 10[v], f. 12[r–v], f. 13[v], f. 14[v], f. 15[r–v], f. 16[r], f. 17[r–v], 18[v], f. 19[r], f. 20[r], f. 21[r–v])		1450–1500[53]			
			None	D-Teiknarinn (f. 4[r–v], f. 11[r–v], f. 15[r], f. 16[v], f. 18[r], f. 19[v])		1500[54]			
AM Dipl. Isl. Fasc. V, 12	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	1	H Þin 2 (f. 1[r])	A-Teiknarinn (f. 1[r])	*Gradual*	1340–60[55]	1	13	301 × 212 mm
			Þórðr Þórðarson (?) (f. 1[v])	None	*Máldagi*	1395[56]		42	
AM 249 e fol., AM Acc 7 d (Hs 107), Lbs fragm 60	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum and Landsbókasafn Íslands; Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	9 + 7 + 2	Unknown	Unknown	*Calendarium, Brevarium, Psalterium*	1300–1400[57]	1	Various	257 × 190 mm

(Table continued overleaf)

36 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 79; *Catilina and Jugurtha*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, p. 11.
37 Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, pp. 11–18.
38 Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, pp. 11–18.
39 *Catilina and Jugurtha*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, p. 11.
40 Stefán Karlsson, 'Islandsk bogeksport til Norge i middelalderen', p. 17.
41 Jakobsen, *Studier i Clarus saga*, pp. 46 and 12.
42 Stefán Karlsson, pers. comm., 1988.
43 Jakobsen, *Studier i Clarus saga*, pp. 46 and 12.
44 The list of scribes in AM 544 4to is taken from the website *Handrit.is*, with further references. The names of scribes, however, changed. For the entry, see <https://handrit.is/en/manuscript/view/da/AM04-0544> [accessed 3 March 2021].
45 Stefán Karlsson, 'Aldur Hauksbókar', pp. 118–19; *Hauksbók*, ed. by Jón Helgason, p. xx.
46 Jakobsen, *Studier i Clarus saga*, pp. 46 and 12.
47 Stefán Karlsson, 'Saltarabrot í Svíþjóð með Stjórnarhendi'.
48 According to Kålund, *Katalog*, II, 69, ff. 91–100 of AM 657 a–b 4to once belonged to the codex DAM, AM 764 4to, which is dated to some twenty years after AM 657 a–b 4to, to 1360–80. For the dating of AM 764 4to, see *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 26 and 38.
49 Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, p. 70.
50 *Catilina and Jugurtha*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, p. 11.
51 *Íslenska Teiknibókin*, ed. by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, p. 35.
52 *Íslenska Teiknibókin*, ed. by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, p. 42.
53 *Íslenska Teiknibókin*, ed. by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, p. 61.
54 *Íslenska Teiknibókin*, ed. by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, pp. 68–69.
55 *Íslenska Teiknibókin*, ed. by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, pp. 34–35.
56 *Islandske Originaldiplomer indtil 1450*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 115–18.
57 *Íslenzkar Ártíðaskrár*, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 159. See also *Katalog*, ed. by Andersen, pp. 96–97.

Table 8. The Þingeyrar manuscripts *(cont.)*

Shelf Mark and Name	Collection	No. of Folios	Hand (H)	Illuminator (A)	Main Content	Date	Cols	Lines	Size (max.)
GKS 3269 a 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	10	Unknown (ff. 1^{ra}–10^{vb})	Unknown (f. 6^{v}, f. $7^{r–v}$)	*Yfirlit yfir efni Jónsbókar, Ámínning við eiðatǫkr, formularer, og niðrstǫðr Alþingis, Stóridómr, Lǫgfræðilegar formgerðir*	1600–1700[58]	Various	Various	212 × 172 mm
		92	H Þin 1 (ff. 12^{va}–87^{rb17}, ff. 87^{va}–103^{vb})	A Þin 3 (ff. 12^{va}–87^{rb17}, ff. 87^{va}–103^{vb})	*Jónsbók, Réttarbætr, Kristinrétt*r *Árna Þorlákssonar, Statuta Vilhjálms kardinála*	1350[59]	2		
		Note	Unknown (f. $87^{rb18–25}$)	None	*Byskupatal á Hólum*	1495–1520[60]		Note	
AM 127 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	½	Unknown (f. 1^{r})	None	*Maríu nafn með gleði og prís*	1500[61]	2	37 & 35	270 × 200 mm
		97 ½	H Þin 1 (ff. 1^{va}–36^{vb}), H Þin 2 (ff. 37^{ra}–98^{vb})	A Þin 3 (ff. 1^{va}–98^{va})	*Jónsbók, Réttarbætr*	1350[62]	2	24	
		Note	Unknown (f. 98^{vb})	None	*Fjármörk frá Hallfreðarstöðum*	1500[63]		Note	
AM 595 a–b 4to	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	38	H Þin 2 (ff. 1^{r}–38^{v})	A Þin 4 (ff. 1^{r}–38^{v})	*Rómverja saga, Upphaf Rómverja* I–II	1325–50[64]	1	31–33	240 × 183 mm
AM 133 fol. (Kálfalækjarbók)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	95	Unknown (ff. 1^{r}–95^{v})	Unknown (ff. 1^{r}–95^{v})	*Njáls saga*	1350[65]	1	25–26	302 × 209 mm
AM 649 a 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	½	Unknown (ff. $1^{r16–19}$)	None	*Athugagreinir og um skírn*	1300–1400[66]	1	24	200 × 143 mm
		46 ½	Unknown (ff. 1–4, ff. 6–48^{v11})	Flúrari V (ff. 1–4, ff. 6–48), Unknown (f. 1^{v})	*Jóns saga postula, Kvæði um Jóhannes postula*	1350[67]			
		1	Unknown (f. 5)	None		1500–1600[68]		20 & 25	
		Note	Unknown (f. $48^{v12–18}$)	None	*Máldagi*	1470[69]		Note	
AM 54 fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	71 ½	Unknown (ff. 1^{ra}–72^{ra12})	Flúrari IV (ff. 1^{ra}–72^{ra12})	*Óláfs saga Tryggvassonar*	1375–1400[70]	2	40	315 × 232 mm
		1 ½	Unknown (ff. $72^{ra3–}$–73^{vb})	None	*Halldórs þáttr Snorrason*	1500[71]		37–40	
		3	Unknown (ff. 74^{ra}–76^{vb})	None	*Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* (excerpt), *Nornagests þáttr, Helga þáttr Þórtsisonar*	1500–1600[72]		44–50	
AM 382 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	55	Unknown (ff. 1^{r}–55^{v})	Flúrari V (ff. 1^{r}–55^{v})	*Kvæði um Þorlák helga, Þorláks saga helga*	1350[73]	1	24	220 × 161 mm

58 Kålund, *Katalog*, II, 70.
59 Jakobsen, *Studier i Clarus saga*, pp. 46 and 12.
60 Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, p. 74.
61 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 416.
62 Jakobsen, *Studier i Clarus saga*, pp. 46 and 12.
63 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 416.
64 *Catilina and Jugurtha*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, p. 15; Johansson, *Studier i Codex Wormianus*, pp. 68 and 80.
65 Porter, 'Some Aspects of Arons saga Hjörleifssonar', p. 143.
66 Kålund, *Katalog*, II, 53.
67 Stefán Karlsson, pers. comm., 1988.
68 Kålund, *Katalog*, II, 53.
69 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, V, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 589.
70 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 38.
71 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 38.
72 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 38.
73 Jón Helgason, 'Þorláks saga helga', p. 390.

Figure 7. 'The holy family', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. $5^{ra27–37}$. 1360. Picture by Beeke Stegmann using a Multi-Spectral Scanner. Reproduced with permission.

The style of A Hel 3 differs quite significantly from A Hel 2. The main point of difference is the archaic style of the figures, which is otherwise absent from the High Gothic style of the fourteenth century.[74] Following the miniature on f. 1^{r}, a large initial introduces *Jóns saga baptista* II and depicts John the Baptist with the Agnus Dei in his left hand (Figure 6). The iconography in this initial and the iconographic reference to the previous miniature suggests that both were intended to belong together. At the same time, their execution varies, and the much more elaborate style of drapery in the miniature indicates another illuminator, as mentioned above.

The subsequent initial on f. $5^{ra27–37}$ in AM 233 a fol. differs from this pattern and depicts the Holy Family consisting of Mary, Christ, Anne, and Joachim (Figure 7).[75] The initial serves to introduce the prologue to *Maríu saga*. The rubric that accompanies the initial clearly refers to the divine offspring of the virgin: 'Her byriar | vpp lifssogu hin*ar* helguztu ok dyruztu dr*o*ttnin*gar*. meyjar cy | lifrar. ok guds mod*ir*. fru s*ancte* marie. hin*ar* millduztu. nest ɢu*d*i' (Here begins the story of the life of the most holy and sacred queen maiden who lives. And [she is] the mother of God. Maiden Mary, mildest of all after God). The main text introduced refers to both the family of Mary and the earliest lineage of kings, who trace their kin back to the two holy figures:

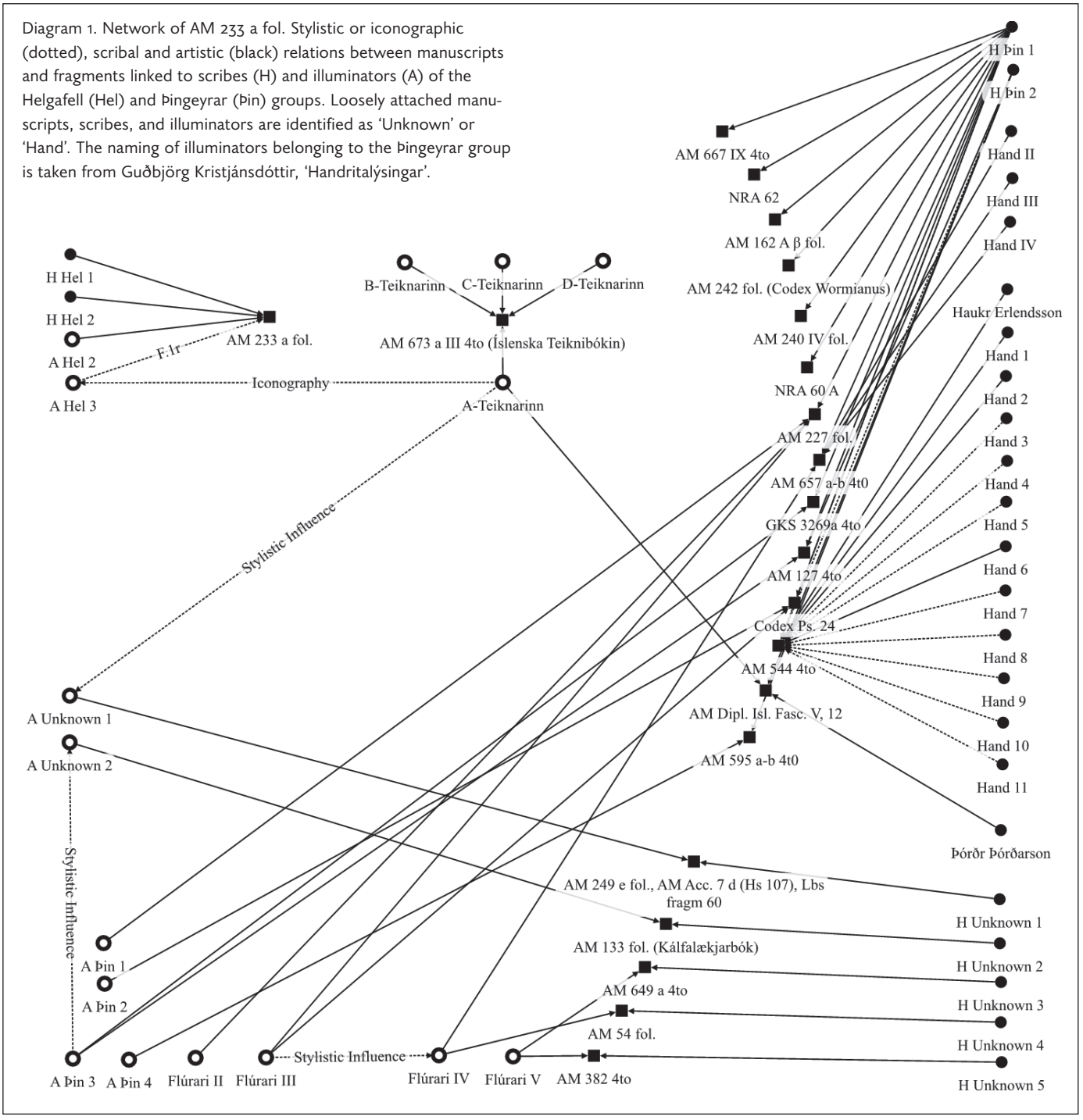
> Dronning himins ok iardar sæl | og dyrdlig mær maria. modir | dr*ó*ttins íh*e*su cristi. blomi hreinli | fis. h*er*b*er*gi heilags anda. allum | helgum m*ǫ*n*nu*m ædri ok hel*a*gri. ok | haleitari. er komín at kynf*er*ð | i af k*onun*gligr*i* ætt. ept*ir* þ*ví* sem seg*ir* | hin*n* gofgi ke*nni*maðr. hin*n* dyr | dligi pr*e*str ieronímus ok tok | h*ann* þ*at* af fr*a* sǫg*u*m math*eu*s guðspia | lla m*annz*. fyr*ir* þ*ví* at h*ann* tok í uppha | fi sins ɢuðspiall*amannz* at telia ætt dauid*s* ih*err*a cristz fr*a* dav*id* | k*onun*g. ok abraham hǫfud fedr. ok nefn*ir* math*eu*s þ*ví* fyrr dauid | k*onun*g. at k*onun*gdomrin*n* m*erkir* eylift r*íki* ok eylifan ɢud dom allz | uallzdanda ɢuds ok þ*ví* abraham sidar*r*. þo at h*ann* uæri fyr*r* | iheími. at ɢ*uð* h*et* h*onu*m at t*aka* a sik man*n*dom. ok lata b*er*az or h*ans* | ætt i þ*en*na heim. ok v*ar* þuí maría dr*ó*ttning. bædi k*onun*ga kyns | ok ken*n*i m*anna kyns*. at hon fæddi þ*an*n son er bæði er k*onung*r ok ken*ni* | m*aðr* i ɢuð doms velldi. ok ken*n*i m*aðr* í pinsl sin*n*i. þa er han*n* | færdi sik sialfan i ƿorn ɢuði feðr á krossinu. helga.
>
> [The queen of Heaven and Earth, blessed and glorious maiden Mary, mother of the Lord Jesus Christ, flower of chastity, shelter of the Holy Spirit. Higher and more holy of the holy men and more sublime, comes from the most royal family according to what is told by the noble teacher and illustrious priest Jerome. He took this from the stories of Matthew the Evangelist because he began the introduction to his Gospel by enumerating the line of David of the Lord Jesus Christ from King David and Abraham, the head of the family. And Matthew names King David first, because the Kingdom signifies the eternal might and eternal Kingdom of almighty God, and thus Abraham later, even though he was earlier in the world. God promised him [that he would] take humanity upon himself and had this borne from his kin in this world. And for this reason Queen Mary was both of the family of kings and of the family of preachers, that she gave birth to that son who is both king and preacher in the kingdom of God and teacher in his martyrdom when he offered himself to God the Father on the Holy Cross.]

Despite an obvious reference to the text, the iconography used for the initial is unusual, as it does not

74 Boeckler, 'Zur Stockholmer Ausstellung', p. 172.

75 *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 20.

Diagram 1. Network of AM 233 a fol. Stylistic or iconographic (dotted), scribal and artistic (black) relations between manuscripts and fragments linked to scribes (H) and illuminators (A) of the Helgafell (Hel) and Þingeyrar (Þin) groups. Loosely attached manuscripts, scribes, and illuminators are identified as 'Unknown' or 'Hand'. The naming of illuminators belonging to the Þingeyrar group is taken from Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Handritalýsingar'.



relate to known models of the Birth of Christ but instead to the Presentation of Christ at the Temple. The image is otherwise unknown from Icelandic manuscripts, but it echoes an iconographic model that was used in East Anglia in the early fourteenth century, and which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

In conclusion, the four sagas included in AM 233 a fol. (I) share the depiction of divine families. While the miniature and the following single initial in *Jóns saga baptista* II only apparently refer to the saint and his parents, the large initial on f. $5^{ra27–37}$ clearly refers to the Holy Family and also provides a text-image reference to the divine lineage of later kings of the Old Testament. Despite the textual references, the miniature and the main initial depicting the Holy Family are unusual in their use of iconographic models. At the same time, no other illuminated vernacular manuscripts from fourteenth-century Iceland are

known to possess any historiated initials as part of these sagas. It can be tentatively concluded that the two images have been created for AM 233 a fol. alone.

Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók)

The next manuscript written by the scribe of the oldest production unit of DAM, AM 233 a fol., H Hel 1, is the law manuscript SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), which constitutes one of the most complex medieval codices of the vernacular law code *Jónsbók* extant today.[76] It offers the most complex iconographic content of all northern law books and is, without doubt, the most remarkable illuminated manuscript from medieval Scandinavia.[77] A great amount of research has been dedicated to Skarðsbók,[78] unlike most other vernacular law codices from medieval Iceland, and although its lavish illumination has previously received attention, this aspect has been discussed only briefly.[79] In the following, a comprehensive analysis will be provided, with a particular focus on the text-image references, stylistic relationships to manuscripts originating from scriptoria beyond Iceland, and iconographic comparisons with two law manuscripts: SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to and SÁM, AM 168 a 4to, both of which share iconographic similarities with manuscripts from the Helgafell network.[80]

Skarðsbók is unusual in many ways: it is large for a law manuscript, with an average size of 360 × 270 mm,[81] and it features a luxurious mise-en-page with unusually wide margins that provide a large space for the two twenty-eight-lined columns of the text, the extravagant book painting, and a number of paratexts written contemporarily with the original text.[82] Skarðsbók is one of the few medieval Icelandic manuscripts that includes a written date: on ff. 148^{vb28}–149^{ra3} an overview of the eight parts of world history is presented, which includes an accurate dating of the manuscript: 'En*n* fr*a* h*igat* leiði | gndu b*urð* cr*ist*z er talaz hín*n* ví^{ti} alldr t*il* hei*m*s enda. … Enn af þe*im* sama alldri e*ro* nu lidín M.CCC. IX ok ÍÍÍ. ær' (And from hither the birth of Christ is reckoned the sixth age until the end of the world … and from that same age 1363 years are now passed). The manuscript is for the most part complete. It consists of 157 leaves, of which the majority were written by the scribe H Hel 1, together with all rubrics. Possibly just after the initial writing process, H Hel 3, a minor hand (potentially) from Helgafell, added a number of short comments to the margins of f. 36^{r}, f. 56^{v} and f. 57^{r}.[83] Shortly afterwards, ff. 18–23 were removed, and in *c.* 1500–50 the corresponding text was added from SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), a law manuscript from the wider Helgafell network which was written a good twenty years before Skarðsbók in *c.* 1330–40.[84] It is generally accepted that Svalbarðsbók was not only important for this second production unit of Skarðsbók, but also for the initial writing. With the exception of a fairly unique arrangement of secular and ecclesiastical law texts called *Hirðsiðir* that were added to the second section of the *Jónsbók* text in Svalbarðsbók,[85] the interpolated *Jónsbók* version of Skarðsbók draws closely on Svalbarðsbók, as well as other unknown

76 Parts of this chapter have been published previously in Drechsler, 'Zur Ikonographie der AM 350 fol.'.

77 The vernacular law *Jónsbók* was ratified and posthumously introduced by the Norwegian king Magnús Hákonarson (1238–80). Soon after introduction, *Jónsbók* became one of the most copied vernacular laws in medieval and early modern Scandinavia with about one hundred complete copies and fifty fragments that predate the seventeenth century. See *Jónsbók*, ed. by Már Jónsson, pp. 26–27.

78 Two facsimile editions of Skarðsbók have been published: *Skarðsbók*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, and *Skarðsbók*, ed. by Jónas Kristjánsson, Ólafur Halldórsson, and Sigurður Líndal. They were complemented by philological examinations of the history, provenance, and origin: *Skarðsbók*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, pp. 5–21; Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Skarðsbók – Origins and History'; and Sigurður Líndal, 'The Law Codes of Skarðsbók'. Previous studies of the text have been provided by Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 9–16; *Jónsbók*, ed. by Már Jónsson, pp. 21–33; Schnall, 'Recht und Heil'; Rohrbach, 'Repositioning *Jónsbók*'; and Rohrbach, 'Construction, Organisation, Stabilisation', pp. 250–56.

79 Despite several studies of the book painting of AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), only one complete iconographic analysis has been carried out so far. See Drechsler, 'Zur Ikonographie der AM 350 fol.'. Previous research has been provided by Fett, *Norges malerkunst*, pp. 32–33; Selma Jónsdóttir, 'Gjafamynd í íslenzku handriti'; Björn Th. Björnsson, 'Pictorial Art', p. 34; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar'; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Lýsingar í íslenskum handritum', p. 96; Liepe, 'Bild, text och ornamentik', pp. 119–24; Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 25–51; Liepe, 'Image, Script and Ornamentation'', pp. 255–65; Sigurgeir Steingrímsson, 'The Law Book from Skarð', Johansson and Liepe, 'Text and Images'; and Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Hvernig litu íslenskir miðaldamenn út?'.

80 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 155.

81 Már Jónsson, 'The Size of Medieval Icelandic Legal Manuscripts', p. 32.

82 See Drechsler, 'Marginalia', pp. 188–89.

83 Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Skarðsbók – Origins and History', p. 47. H Hel 3 is otherwise known to have written a short part of the main text to the *Postula sögur* manuscript SÁM, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), mostly written by the scribe H Hel 2, and discussed further below.

84 *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xli.

85 For the *Hirðsiðir* section in AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), see *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xliv, and Drechsler, 'Jón Halldórsson and Law Manuscripts'.

Table 9. Textual arrangement of AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók).

Gathering	Folios	Production Unit	Text	Text Length	Date
1 (8) 2 (8) 3 (8) 4 (8) 5 (8) 6 (8) 7 (8) 8 (8) 9 (8) 10 (8)	Ff. 1–8 Ff. 9–16 Ff. 17–24 Ff. 25–32 Ff. 33–40 Ff. 41–48 Ff. 49–56 Ff. 57–64 Ff. 65–72 Ff. 73–80	I (ff. 1–18) II (ff. 19–23) I (ff. 24–150^{v})	***Jónsbók***	Ff. 1va–72ra	1363[86] *c.* 1500–50 (ff. 19–23)
			Law amendments: *Réttarbót Magnúsar konungs Hákonarsonar* (1267, f. 72$^{rb–va2}$), *Réttarbót Eiríks konungs Magnússonar* (1280, ff. 72^{va3}–73^{vb4}), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (1306, 'Um félagsgerð hjóna', ff. 73^{vb5}–74^{ra17}), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (1313, 'Mǫðruvallaréttarbót', f. 74$^{ra18–rb2}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (1306, 'Um rannsóknir', f. 74$^{rb3–va12}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (2.5.1313, f. 74$^{va13–vb21}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (28.3.1318, 'Herjólfsréttarbót', ff. 74^{vb22}–75^{rb2}), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (10.5.1313, 'Um at men sæki lǫgþingi', f. 75$^{rb3–25}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konmungs Magnússonar* (26.12.1309, 'Um at sýslumenn og umboðsmenn þeirra geri rétt', f. 75$^{rb26–va27}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (11.10.1303, 'Um skyldir handgenginna manna', f. 75$^{va28–vb}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (28.7.1316, 'Um at hinn forni kristinréttr skuli vera í gildi', f. 76$^{ra–rb2}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (25.11.1315, 'Um bréfabrot', f. 76$^{rb3–va3}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (27.5.1303, 'Um heitingar', ff. 76^{va4}–77^{ra12}), *Bréf Hákonar konungs Magnússonar vegan atferlis Jǫrundar Hólabyskups* (1305, f. 77$^{ra13–rb21}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (13.12.1318, 'Um rangindi lénsmanna', ff. 77^{rb22}–78^{ra20}), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (2.5.1313, f. 78$^{ra21–rb21}$), *Réttarbót Magnúsar konungs Eiríkssonar* (10.6.1320, 'Um yfirgangs Auðunar Hólabyskups ok lærðra manna', f. 78$^{rb22–vb6}$), *Réttarbót Magnúsar konungs Eiríkssonar* (10.6.1320, 'Um hlýðni Íslendinga við kirkjunnar menn', including *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* from 1309 ('Um réttindi ok skyldr klerka'), ff. 78^{vb7}–79va), *Réttarbót Magnúsar konungs Eiríkssonar* (7.1.1330, 'Um skyldir Íslendinga við norska kaupmenn', ff. 79^{vb}–80^{ra3}), *Réttarbót Magnúsar konungs Eiríkssonar* (4.7.1329, 'Um íslenska vaðmálagerð', f. 80$^{ra4–24}$), *Réttarbót Magnúsar konungs Eiríkssonar* (25.3.1353, 'Um sektir fyrir okr ok rangar tíundargerðir', f. 80$^{ra25–rb}$), *Réttarbót Magnúsar konungs Eiríkssonar* (1340–60(?), 'Um skyldir Íslendinga við Bjǫrgvinjarkaupmenn', f. 80$^{va1–25}$), *Réttarbót Magnúsar konungs Eiríkssonar* (11.12.1342, 'Um sýslur', ff. 80^{va26}–81^{ra11}), *Réttarbót Magnúsar konungs Hákonarsonar* ('Um forkaupsrétt konungs ok um fjárskaða', f. 81$^{ra12–27}$)	Ff. 72^{rb}–81ra	
11 (8)	Ff. 81–88		*Þessum málum má eigi appelera* (1281)	F. 81$^{rb1–24}$	
			Legal formulas (*c.* 1330–60): *Forsǫgn fyrir ómaga lǫgboði* (f. 81$^{rb25–va4}$), *Forsǫgn fyrir fjárkrǫfu* (f. 81$^{va5–10}$), *Forsǫgn fyrir heimstefnu* (f. 81$^{va11–16}$), *Forsǫgn fyrir fjarsóknum* (f. 81$^{va17–23}$), *Þingstefnuforsǫgn* (f. 81$^{va18–vb2}$), *Stefnuforsǫgn* (f. 81$^{vb3–9}$), *Fjárkrǫfuforsǫgn á þingi* (f. 81$^{vb10–15}$), *Eiðsforsǫgn vitnis í skuldamálum* (f. 81$^{vb16–28}$), *Eiðsforsǫgn vitnis í skuldamálum enn* (f. 82$^{ra1–13}$), *Forsǫgn fyrir upptekt fjár* (f. 82$^{ra14–26}$), *Eiðsforsǫgn vitnis í áverkamálum* (f. 82$^{ra27–rb8}$), *Eiðsforsǫgn at sverja fyrir æaverka og vanrétti við annann* (f. 82$^{rb9–15}$), *Eiðsforsǫgn at sverja fyrir þjófnat* (f. 82$^{rb16–23}$), *Eiðsforsǫgn fyrir sannanarmann* (f. 82$^{rb24–va14}$), *Griðaforsǫgn* (f. 82$^{va15–vb3}$), *Forsǫgn fyrir handlagi* (f. 82$^{vb4–24}$), *Forsǫgn fyrir ættleiðingu* (ff. 82^{vb25}–83^{ra8}), *Forsǫgn furir lýsing ættleiðingar* (f. 83$^{ra9–23}$)	Ff. 81^{rb25}–83^{ra23}	
12 (8)	Ff. 89–96		*Saktal í Jónsbók*	Ff. 83^{ra24}–90^{vb27}	1363
13 (8)	Ff. 97–104		***Hirðskrá***	Ff. 91^{va4}–107^{rb28}	
14 (8)	Ff. 105–12		***Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar***	Ff. 107^{va4}–121^{rb15}	
15 (8)	Ff. 113–20		(Mainly) **statutes**: *Skipan Vilhjálms kardinála* (17.8.1247, f. 121$^{rb16–vb4}$), *Skipan Innócentíuss pápa* (7.9.1249, ff. 121^{vb5}–122^{rb8}), *Sættargerð í Túnsberg* (9.8.1277, ff. 122^{rb10}–125^{va26}), *Skipan Jóns rauða erkibyskups* (1.9.1327, ff. 125^{va27}–127^{ra6}), *Bannsaknabréf Jóns Halldórssonar byskups* (20.7.1326, ff. 127^{ra7}–130^{vb6}), *Skipan Eilífs erkibyskups* (1.7.1327, ff. 130^{vb7}–132^{vb21}), (sections of) *Skipan Eilífs erkibyskups* (1320(?), ff. 132^{vb22}–138^{va14}), *Skipan Páls erkibiskups* (1342, ff. 138^{va15}–141^{ra24}), *Um bannsverk* (by Bishop Árni Þorlákson, 1281, f. 141$^{ra25–vb15}$), *Um bann* (translated from a section of *Summa de casibus* by Raymond of Peñafort (1175–1275), ff. 141^{vb16}–142^{ra22}), *Um bann* (translated from a letter of Godefridus Andevagensis (1113–51) as it appears in Gregory IX's *Liber Extra* (X 4.7.2), f. 142$^{ra23–rb25}$)	Ff. 121^{rb16}–142^{rb25}	
16 (8) 17 (8)	Ff. 121–28 Ff. 129–36				

18 (7)	Ff. 137–43		(Translated) **clauses for statutes**: Gratian's *Decretales* (pars prima, D.3 c. 2, f. 142$^{rb26–va7}$), *Skipan Innócentíuss páfa* (f. 142$^{va8–17}$), *Ex concilio Toletana* (taken from the Ninth Council of Toledo on the *Jus patronatus* of laymen for own-built churches, f. 142$^{va18–vb1}$), *Ex concilio Babilonesi* (Unclear reference; the text is dealing with the superiority of a bishop in his diocese, f. 142$^{vb3–18}$), *Ex concilio Lateranensi* (probably referring to the Fourth Lateran Council, ff. 142^{vb19}–143^{ra4}), *Skipan Alexandri papa tercii* (probably referring to the Fourth Lateran Council, f. 143$^{ra5–ra12}$)	Ff. 142^{rb26}–143^{ra12}	
			Statutes: *Skipan Magnúsar byskups Gizurarsonar* (1224, 'Um messuhaldi', f. 143$^{ra13–va17}$), *Skipan Árna byskups Þorlákssonar* (from 1269, partly proceeding the previous statute and including parts of *Skipan Árna byskups Þorlákssonar* (*c.* 1275, 'Um fǫstu'), parts of *Skipan Árna byskups Þorlákssonar* (*c.* 1290, 'Um hjónaband ok heilagra daga'), and parts of *Skipan Árna byskups Þorlákssonar* (1280, 'Um tíund'), ff. 143^{va18}–144^{vb24}), *Skipan Gyrðar byskups Ívarsonar* (23.4.1359, 'Um gjǫld', ff. 144^{vb25}–145^{rb24}), (sections of) *Skipan Eilífs erkybiskups* (1320(?), ff. 145^{rb25}–147^{ra1})	Ff. 143^{ra13}–147^{ra1}	
			Saktal hins forna Kristin rétts	F. 147$^{ra2–vb4}$	
			Kristinréttr Jóns erkibyskups rauða (ch. 49)	Ff. 147^{vb5}–148^{ra7}	
			Sættargerð Eiríks konungs Magnússonar ok Árna byskups Þorlákssonar á Ǫgvaldnesi (2.5.1297)	F. 148$^{ra8–rb14}$	
			Um dismal daga	F. 148$^{rb15–va25}$	
			Um fljóð ok fjǫru	F. 148$^{va26–vb2}$	
			Nǫfn þriggja austrvegs konunga á hebresku, grisku og latínu	F. 148$^{vb3–7}$	
			Um heimsalda	Ff. 148^{vb8}–149^{ra10}	
			Dómadagsundr	F. 149$^{ra10–rb11}$	
			Formáli Hólabyskups fyrir handa presti sem sendr er á fund erkibyskups (1334?)	F. 149$^{rb12–27}$	
19 (8)	Ff. 144–51		*Statutum Páls erkibyskups* (22.9.1334)	Ff. 149va–150^{va20}	
			Luke 11. 27–28	F. 150$^{va21–27}$	
		III (ff. 150^{v}–157^{v})	*Kristinréttr Jóns erkibyskups rauða* (ch. 62)	F. 150$^{vb1–9}$	
			(sections of) *Skipan Árna byskups Þorlákssonar* (1269)	F. 150$^{vb10–27}$	
			Legal formulas: *Eiðstafr, at maðr hafi eigi viljandi misþyrmt klerki* (f. 150$^{vb28–33}$), *Eiðstafr, at maðr lofar at standa á prófasts eða byskupsdómi om misþyrmingar við klerka ok klaustra menn* (f. 150$^{vb33–39}$), *Eiðstafr, at maðr sé skildr at líkamslosta við konu* (f. 150$^{vb40–46}$), *Eiðstafr, at maðr hafi ekki átt samræði við konu, svo at barngetnaðr yrði af* (f. 150$^{vb46–49}$), *Eiðstafr fyrir konu, at sanna barnsfaðerni* (f. 150$^{vb49–53}$)	F. 150$^{vb28–53}$	*c.* 1500
			Skriptaboð Árna byskups Þorlákssonar (September 1269)	F. 151$^{r1–28}$	
			Skriptaboð Jorundar byskups Þorsteinssonar (1276 [–1341?])	F. 151$^{r29–v16}$	
			Legal formulas: *Incontinencie crimen quod leuitate suadente comisseras humiliter* (f. 151$^{v17–21}$), *A uinculis peccatorum* (f. 151$^{v22–24}$), *A uinculis peccatorum et precipue* (f. 151$^{v25–26}$), *A vinculis peccatorum excommunicacione* (f. 151$^{v27–28}$), *A vincvlis peccatorum tuorum precipue tamen a contaminacione in qua merito convictus fuisti* (f. 151$^{v29–34}$), *A uinculis peccati specialiter a manifesto crimine fornicacionis quod incurristi* (f. 151$^{v35–36}$), *A uinculis peccatorum tourum et specialiter a crimine notorio incontinencie quod manifestus commisisse* (f. 151$^{v37–40}$), *A uinculis peccati et specialiter ab jregularitate et inducendo suspectas personas in claustrvm nostrum* (f. 151$^{v41–42}$), *A vinculis peccatorum tuorum confessis et contestatis et nunc specialiter a sentencia excommunicacionis* (f. 151$^{v43–46}$)	F. 151$^{v17–46}$	*c.* 1500–25
			Table of Contents	Ff. 152ra–156^{va4}	
20 (6)	Ff. 152–57		**Legal formula**: *Et ego absoluo te ab isto crimine qvocvnqve modo fregisti sacrosanctvm votvm transgressione in qva manufestus es in quarta fersificatione cvm solvta mvliere et qvocvnqve modo innodatus es et ab alijs criminibus qve ab illo derivantur.*	Note (f. 157^{v})	

86 For literature on the dating of all sections, see Table 1.

Table 10. The *Skálholtsannáll hinn forni* manuscripts.

Shelf Mark and Name	Collection	Number of Folios	Hands (H)	Illuminators (A)	Main Content	Date	Cols	Lines	Size (max.)
GKS 3268 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	98	H Ská 1 (ff. 1^{r}–38^{r}), H Ská 2 (ff. 38^{v}–98^{v})	A Ská 1 (ff. 1^{r}–98^{v}), A Ská 3 (ff. 1^{r}–98^{v})	*Jónsbók*	1350[87]	1	20	240 × 198 mm
GKS 3270 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	129	H Ská 1 (ff. 1^{va}–129^{vb})	A Ská 2 (ff. 1^{va}–129^{vb}), A Ská 3 (ff. 1^{va}–129^{vb})	*Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar*, John 8. 12–20, *Jónsbók*, *Réttarbætr*, *Skípan Vilhjálms kardinála*, *Statutum Innócentíuss pápa*, *Hirðskrá*	1350[88]	2	24	160 × 192 mm
AM 420 a 4to (*Skálholtsannáll hinn forni*)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	18	H Ská 1 (ff. 1–18)	None	*Skálholtsannáll hinn forni*	136289	2	39	265 × 180 mm

textual models.[90] Apart from ff. 18–23, a number of vernacular and Latin formulas and a section of the Norwegian *Kristinréttr Jóns erkibiskups rauða*, written by an unknown scribe, were added to the previously empty space on ff. 150–151 in *c.* 1500. In the following twenty-five years the final gathering of the codex was added, consisting of ff. 152–156. This gathering was also written by a single scribe and features, apart from a table of contents of the manuscript, a Latin-written introduction to the remission of sins on the final leaf of the codex. Otherwise, Skarðsbók remained unchanged up until the present day. Folio 1^{r} includes various comments from later owners, but unfortunately nothing is known about the provenance of Skarðsbók prior to the sixteenth century.[91] Nevertheless, paratexts in the margins of ff. 107^{va4}–121^{rb15} as part of the vernacular *Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar* and on ff. 142^{rb26}–143^{ra12} featuring translated clauses for statutes are found that are partly written by the scribe H Hel 1, shortly after completion, or added in the following centuries by later owners.

Skarðsbók was most likely the product of a single, well-read compiler.[92] It includes a wide range of vernacular and Latin ecclesiastical and secular law texts and formulas mostly from the thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century (Table 9). The manuscript consists of twenty gatherings.[93] In comparison to vernacular law books from Iceland produced at the same time, no manuscript exists that could have acted with any certainty as a role model for Skarðsbók.

The Network of the 'Helgafell Master'

It has generally been accepted that the historiated initials of Skarðsbók were executed by a single illuminator, here called A Hel 1, the 'Helgafell Master'.[94] Following the common pattern in Icelandic fourteenth-century book painting, Skarðsbók contains two distinctive styles: Romanesque ornamentation that covers all floral illuminations and High Gothic figural styles. With respect to the Romanesque

87 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
88 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
89 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 27.
90 *Jónsbók* comprises both the uninterpolated and interpolated redactions. After it was ratified in 1281, the law code was extended at various times. Most important are three royal amendments made in 1294, 1305, and 1314 by later Norwegian kings Eiríkr Magnússon (1268–99) and Hákon Magnússon (1270–1319), all originally added at the end of the uninterpolated redaction. In the interpolated version, these three amendments, along with further additions, are incorporated into the main text. AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók) and AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók) are the oldest manuscripts that contain the interpolated redaction. See *Jónsbók*, ed. by Már Jónsson, p. 22; *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, pp. xli–lvii.
91 For the provenance of Skarðsbók, see *Skarðsbók*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, pp. 5–10; Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 9–16; and Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Skarðsbók – Origins and History', pp. 47–49.
92 *Jónsbók*, ed. by Már Jónsson, pp. 18–19; *Skarðsbók*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, pp. 11–15; Rohrbach, 'Repositioning *Jónsbók*'.
93 Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Skarðsbók – Origins and History', p. 46; Rohrbach, 'Repositioning *Jónsbók*', p. 185.
94 For stylistic analyses of the book painting of AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), see Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 24; Liepe, 'Bild, text och ornamentik', p. 123; Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 25–51, 67–70; and Liepe, 'Image, Script and Ornamentation', p. 261. Lena Liepe in *Studies* on p. 172 has argued that select pen-flourishing of Skarðsbók was possibly executed by the scribe H Hel 1. This may be true of the painting of the initial letters, as is the case in all manuscripts written by H Hel 1 after *c.* 1370. For this, see the respective manuscripts and fragments discussed elsewhere in this chapter.

Table 11. The Möðruvellir manuscripts. (There were no illuminators.)

Shelf Mark and Name	Collection	Number of Folios	Hands (H)	Main Content	Date	Cols	Lines	Size (max.)
AM 132 fol. (Möðruvallabók)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	200	H Möð 1 (ff. 1^{va}–200^{vb}), H Ská 1 (f. $86^{va25–29}$)	*Íslendingasögur*	1330–70[95]	2	41–42	335 × 240 mm
AM 220 I fol.	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	2	H Möð 1(f. $1^{r–v}$)	*Guðmundar saga byskups*	1330–70[96]	1	35	240 × 150 mm
AM 173 c 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	10	H Möð 1 (ff. 1^{r}–10^{v})	*Grágás*, *Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar*	1330–70[97]	1	19	152 × 216 mm
AM 240 V fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	6	H Möð 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–6^{vb})	*Maríu saga*	1330–70[98]	2	Unknown	252 × 177 mm
AM 229 II fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	4	H Möð 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–4^{vb})	*Stjórn*	1330–70[99]	2	43	265 × 210 mm
AM 642 a I δ 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	2	H Möð 1 (ff. 1^{r}–2^{v})	*Nikulás saga erkibyskups*	1330–70[100]	1	32	212 × 156 mm
AM 573 4to	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	63	H Akr 1 (ff. 1^{r}–45^{v});[101] H Möð 1 (ff. 46^{r}–63^{v})	*Trójumanna saga*, *Breta sögur*	1330–75[102]	1	27–32	188 × 137 mm
Lbs fragm 5	Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands	2	H Möð 1 (ff. 1^{r}–2^{v})	*Guðmundar saga byskups*	1330–70[103]	1	35	230 × 150 mm
AM 325 XI 2 b 4to	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	1	H Möð 1 (f. $1^{ra–vb}$)	*Óláfs saga helga*	1330–70[104]	2	40	291 × 207 mm

decorative patterns, the ornamentation of two Icelandic law manuscripts, SÁM, GKS 3268 4to and SÁM, GKS 3270 4to, is most closely related to Skarðsbók. GKS 3268 4to was written by the two scribes H Ská 1 and H Ská 2 in collaboration, one of whom was also responsible for GKS 3270 4to and the annal SÁM, AM 420 a 4to (*Skálholtsannáll hinn forni*) from 1362 (Table 10).[105]

The major initials of GKS 3268 4to and GKS 3270 4to were painted by two illuminators, A Ská 1 and A Ská 2, while all pen-flourishing was executed by yet another craftsman, A Ská 3.[106] The stylistic relationship of the 'Helgafell Master' to these three illuminators possibly has a personal background, since GKS 3270 4to displays a Calvary group miniature which shows both iconographic and stylistic similarities with an initial in Skarðsbók illuminated by the 'Helgafell Master'.[107] GKS 3270 4to was completed a good ten years before Skarðsbók, and it is likely that the 'Helgafell Master'

95 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 28.
96 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 28.
97 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 28.
98 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 26 and 28.
99 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 27 and 28.
100 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 28.
101 The scribe H Akr 1 has been loosely attached to the so-called Akrarskólinn workshop at the farm at Stóri-Akrar í Blönduhlíð on Skagafjörður in northern Iceland. Most of the manuscripts produced at Akrarskólinn were (co-)written by a single scribe in the later fourteenth century. They are as follows: KB, MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 19, SÁM, AM 122 b fol. (Reykjarfjarðarbók), DAM, AM 62 fol., AM 344 fol., AM 48 8vo, AM 651 I 4to, AM 385 II 4to, AM 385 I 4to & AM 651 II 4to, AM 658 I 4to, and AM 658 II 4to (all SÁM). Closely related on palaeographic basis are the three letters SÁM, AM Dipl. Isl. Fasc. III, 11 (12.11.1385), SÁM, AM Dipl. Isl. Fasc. V, 8 (24.2.1391), and LBS, Dipl. 2 (16.3.1394). Furthermore, attached to the Akrarskólinn are a number of manuscripts written by a multitude of scribes. These are DAM, AM 764 4to (Reynistaðarbók) & SÁM, AM 162 M fol., KB, MS Isl. Perg. 8vo 10, AM 325 IV β 4to & AM 325 XI 3 4to (both DAM), KB, Isl. Perg. 4:o 16 (Helgastaðabók), and, partly, the mentioned AM 573 4to. For these manuscripts and letters, see *Islandske Originaldiplomer indtil 1450*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 82–84, 98–99, and 114; Stefán Karlsson, 'Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar'; with further references, Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, 'Universal History in Fourteenth-Century Iceland', pp. 53–57, and *Trójumanna saga*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, p. xxxi. See also Drechsler, 'Reynistaðakirkja hin forna'.
102 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 26 and 28; *Trójumanna saga*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, p. xxxi.
103 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 28.
104 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 28.
105 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 27.
106 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 75.
107 A stylistic relationship between the miniature in SÁM, GKS 3270 4to and AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók) has long been suggested. See Matthías Þórðarson, 'Islands middelalderkunst', p. 342; *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Jónsbók*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 13; and Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 26. See, however, also Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 67–70.

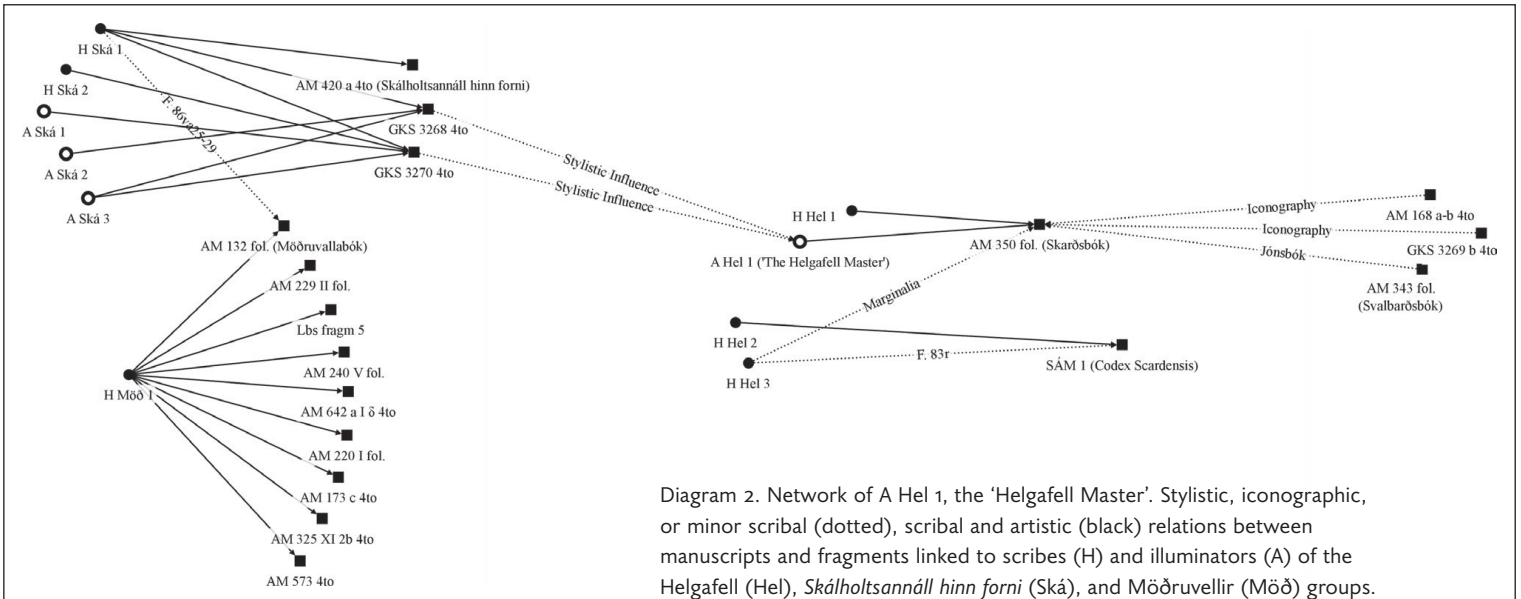


Diagram 2. Network of A Hel 1, the 'Helgafell Master'. Stylistic, iconographic, or minor scribal (dotted), scribal and artistic (black) relations between manuscripts and fragments linked to scribes (H) and illuminators (A) of the Helgafell (Hel), *Skálholtsannáll hinn forni* (Ská), and Möðruvellir (Möð) groups.

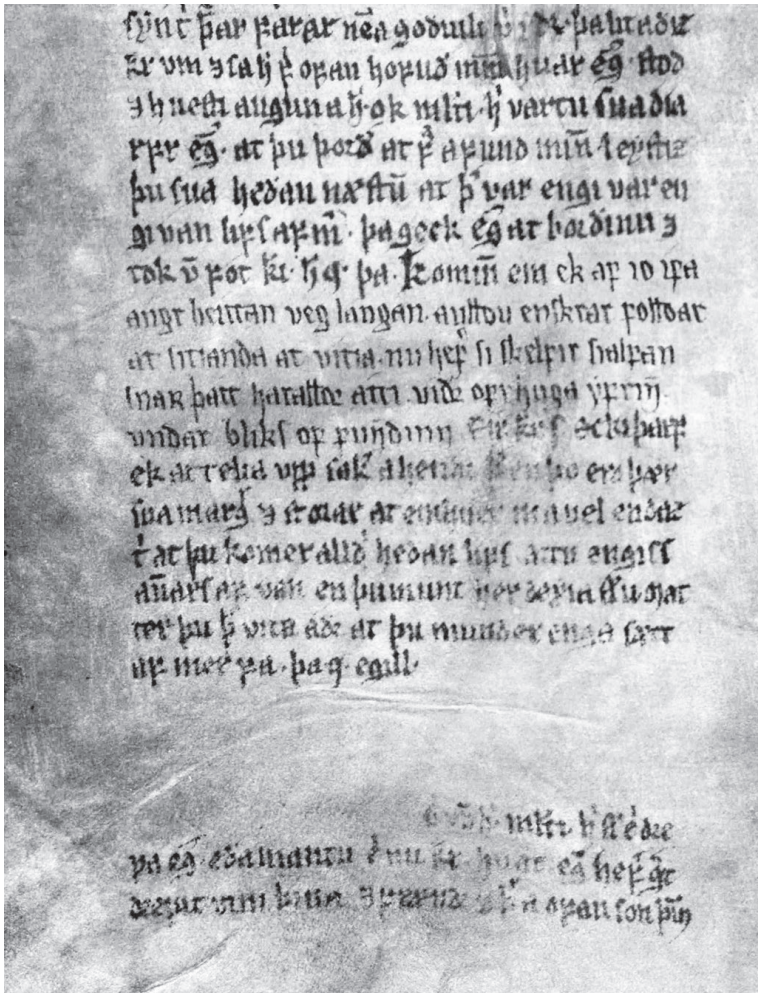


Figure 8. 'Contribution of scribe H Ská 1', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 132 fol. (Möðruvallabók), f. 86$^{va25–29}$. 1330–70. Picture from https://handrit.is.

was in contact with the same scriptorium at which the three illuminators A Ská 1, A Ská 2, and A Ská 3 worked in *c.* 1350, before he took up work at Helgafell some ten years later. Unfortunately, the site of this workshop is yet to be found.[108] One of the two main scribes from this group, H Ská 1 contributed *lausavísa* 33 of *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* on f. 86$^{va25–29}$ to the *Íslendingasögur* manuscript SÁM, AM 132 fol. (Möðruvallabók) from *c.* 1330–70.[109] This manuscript belongs to a group of nine manuscripts and fragments from the northern Icelandic Augustinian monastery of Möðruvellir.[110] Most of them were written by a single scribe. They consist of the manuscripts and fragments listed in Table 11.

Accordingly, it has been proposed that the whole group of manuscripts connected to H Ská 1–2 also originates from Möðruvellir.[111] This was recently refuted,[112] and it seems that the short addition made by H Ská 1 to Möðruvallabók was most likely added later. This is indicated by the varying colour of ink and in the different use of space on the leaf (Figure 8).

Below the *lausavísa* written by H Ská 1 in Möðruvallabók, a few lines were left empty by its main scribe H Möð 1. Had both scribes been at the

108 Despite the reference given in the name of *Skálholtsannáll hinn forni*, the origin of this workshop remains unknown. According to Sigurdsson, *The Church in Fourteenth-Century Iceland*, p. 53, they do not focus on a specific region of Iceland, and their origin cannot be traced with any further certainty. For the provenance of *Skálholtsannáll hinn forni*, see Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 625.

109 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 28.

110 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 28.

111 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 123–24.

112 Rohrbach, 'Construction, Organisation, Stabilisation', p. 247.

same place at the same time, this obvious error would not have occurred. Thus, the respective addition made by H Ská 1 to Möðruvallabók was only made after H Möð 1 finished at least this leaf. As Diagram 2 indicates, the greater personal network around Skarðsbók thus suggests that its single illuminator, the 'Helgafell Master', was in contact with another workshop of two scribes and three illuminators before he entered the scriptorium at Helgafell in the 1360s.

The Book Painting of AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók)

In comparison with other illuminated manuscripts from Iceland, Skarðsbók shows a diverse selection of Romanesque leaf and blossom ornamentation and includes not only standard patterns such as acanthus, lily, and vine tendrils, but also a wide range of palmette flowers with inhabited, trumpet-formed volute tendrils, all of which are known from other Icelandic codices. Major and medium-sized initials are generally ornamented with *œufs-de-grenouille* as well as spiral tendrils, both of which show similarity with some of the major initials in GKS 3270 4to (Figures 9–11). Despite the advanced style in

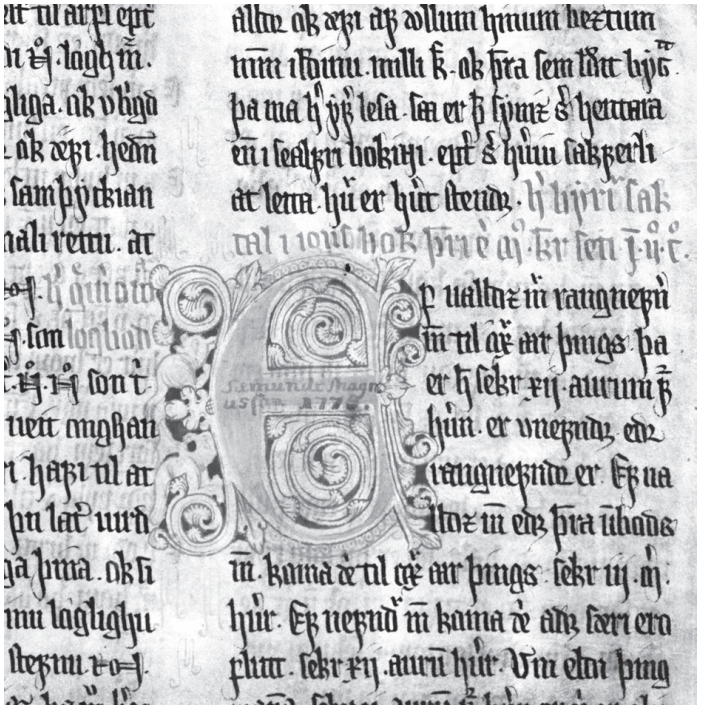


Figure 9. 'Spiral tendrils', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 83$^{rb8–13}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Figure 10. 'Spiral tendrils and *œufs-de-grenouille*', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3270 4to, f. 60$^{vb5–10}$. 1350.

Figure 11. '*Œufs-de-grenouille*', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 56$^{vb3–5}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

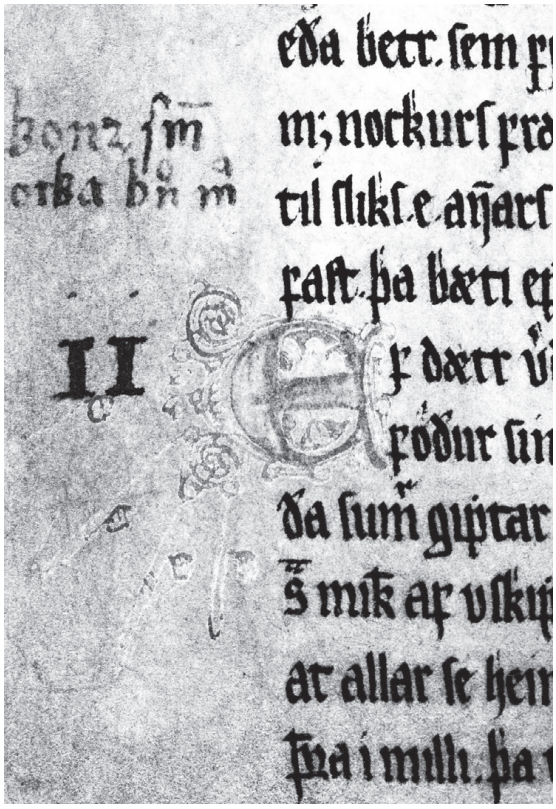


Figure 12. 'Romanesque ornamentation', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3268 4to, f. 27$^{v14–15}$. 1350.

Figure 13. 'Romanesque ornamentation', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 7$^{vb6–8}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

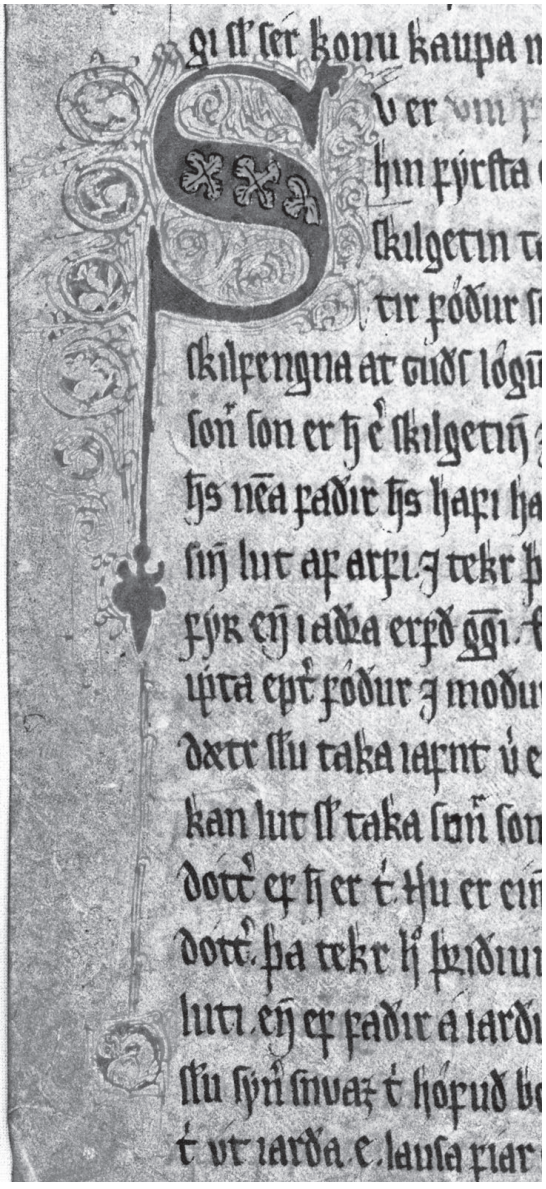


Figure 14. 'Zoomorphic figures', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3270 4to, f. 48$^{va7–10}$. 1350.

Skarðsbók, which is unmatched by other Icelandic manuscripts produced at the same time, some of the ornamental models used for the small initials in SÁM, GKS 3268 4to also reappear in the manuscript from Helgafell (Figures 12–13). Furthermore, several zoomorphic figures such as rabbits, dogs, and birds are found in the margins of Skarðsbók, which might also originate from ornamental patterns known from SÁM, GKS 3270 4to (Figure 14, and see Figure 42, below).

On fully decorated leaves in Skarðsbók such as f. 61^{v} and f. 91^{r}, different forms of green fan sheets, palmette, and flower bud-motifs are depicted and repeatedly fill the margins. These are not found in the *Skálholtsannáll hinn forni* manuscripts nor in any other illuminated manuscripts from fourteenth-century Iceland.[113] In addition,

113 *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Jónsbók*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, pp. 21 and 25, has suggested that the specific mentioning of *Campanula rotundifolia* is an invention of the book painter of Skarðsbók. *Campanula rotundifolia* are found all over Europe in the thirteenth century and later, and thus this is hardly an innovation of the illuminator of

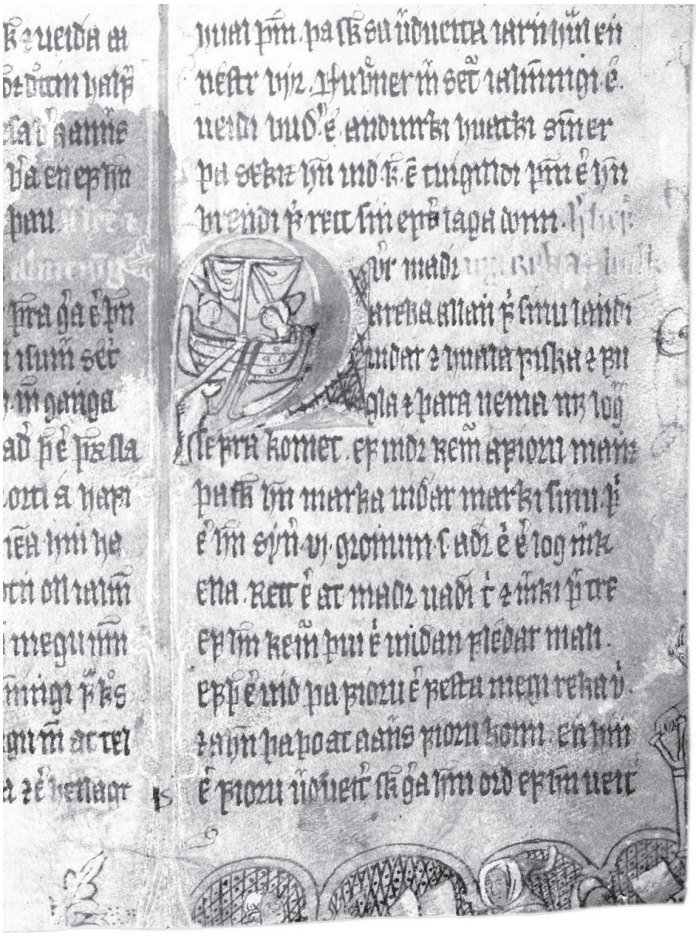


Figure 15. 'Background pattern', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3269 b 4to, f. 42$^{rb17–20}$. 1340.

the inner field of the major initials is generally a square grid, a feature which is absent from GKS 3268 4to and GKS 3270 4to. Rather, Skarðsbók depicts various red lily patterns and rhombus forms on an often dark green or dark blue background. With the exception of the fellow Helgafell codex SÁM, AM 239 fol., these forms are otherwise only found in the earlier law codex SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to from the Helgafell network (Figure 15, and see Figure 37, below). The outlining of major initials with a light red stroke appears to be unique for Skarðsbók.

In Skarðsbók, initials are usually painted in two different forms of stepped gables:[114] irregular stepped gable forms in dark and light red (f. 34$^{ra4–11}$, f. 51$^{rb15–21}$), and a stylized, mirrored vine leaf or acanthus frieze, filled in with green alongside light and dark red colours.[115] Related to this, though less refined, are some

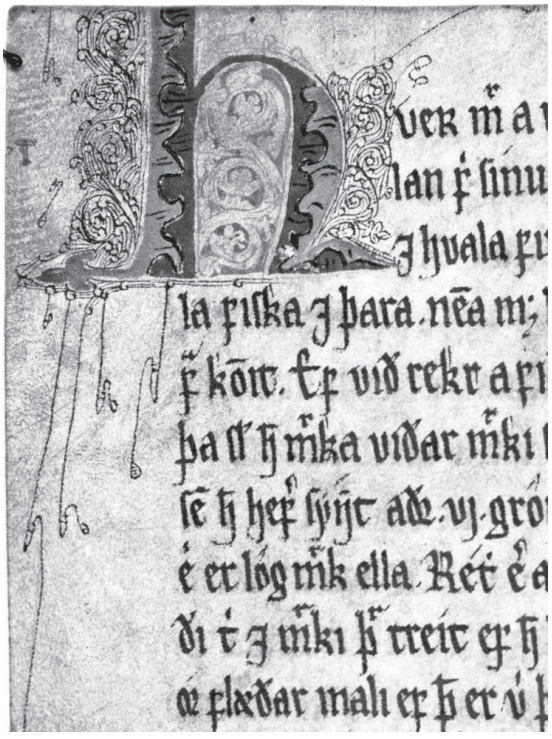


Figure 16. 'Initial letter fillings', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3270 4to, f. 77$^{va1–3}$. 1350.

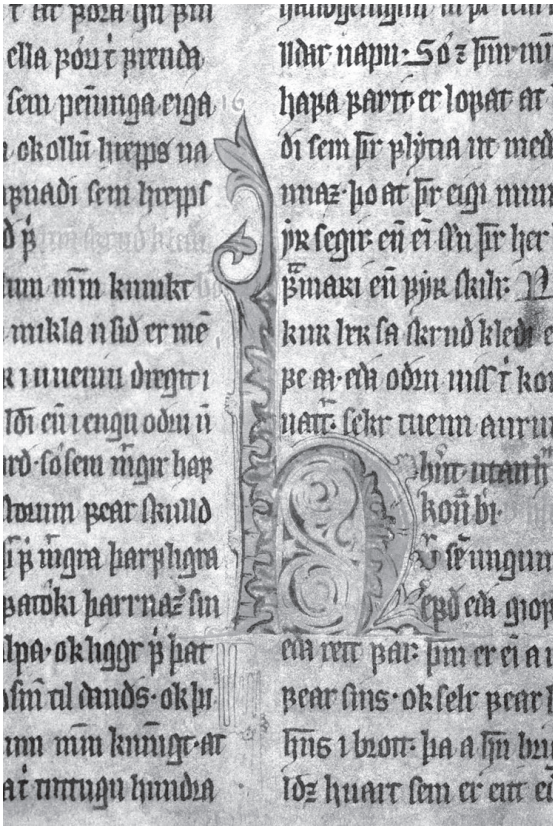


Figure 17. 'Initial letter fillings', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), f. 37$^{vb21–24}$. 1340. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Skarðsbók. For an English example, see Figure 199, below.

114 The only exception is f. 107$^{va6–8}$, which is only painted in red.

115 These are found on f. 5$^{vb4–9}$, f. 27$^{ra19–24}$, f. 31$^{ra22–28}$, f. 34$^{ra4–11}$, and f. 55$^{rb8–14}$.

Table 12. Major initials in AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók).

Part I: The 'Christological unity'				
Size	**Letter**	**Text**	**Section**	**Iconography**
F. $1^{va1–5}$	M	*Jónsbók*	*Bréf Magnúss konungs*	The Annunciation
F. $2^{rb17–22}$	F		*Þingfararbálkr*	Throne of Grace
F. $5^{vb4–9}$	Þ		*Kristindómsbálkr*	Calvary group
Part II: The secular illuminations				
F. 9^{ra}	I	*Jónsbók*	*Konungs þegnskylda*	Measuring *vaðmál*
F. $9^{vb22–27}$	Þ		*Mannhelgisbálkr*	Killing scene
F. $27^{ra19–24}$	H		*Framfærslubálkr*	Negotiation scene
F. $31^{ra22–28}$	H		*Landabrigðabálkr*	Negotiation scene
F. $34^{ra4–11}$	E		*Búnaðarbálkr*	Negotiation scene
F. $51^{rb15–21}$	H		*Rekabálkr*	Cutting of a whale
F. $55^{rb8–14}$	Þ		*Kaupabálkr*	Negotiation scene
F. $61^{va23–28}$	S		*Farmannalǫg*	Oath scene
F. $67^{va20–25}$	Þ		*Þjófabálkr*	Conviction scene
F. $91^{ra4–9}$	Þ	*Hirðskrá*		Oath scene
F. $107^{va3–9}$	A	*Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar*		Baptism scene

initials painted in SÁM, GKS 3270 4to (Figure 16, and, for a reference in AM 350 fol., see Figure 27, below). In this respect, the ornamentation of the only known textual model for Skarðsbók, SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), is linked to GKS 3270 4to (Figure 17). Both the ornamentation in the counter and initial letter and its colouring suggest that Svalbarðsbók is not only related to Skarðsbók in textual terms, but was also possibly produced at a distantly connected scriptorium. Other initials in Svalbarðsbók featuring inhabited and zoomorphic content are less comparable. Some major initials in Skarðsbók are painted in a gold-yellow tone,[116] which, apart from the background of the mentioned miniature in GKS 3270 4to, is not found in any of the other law manuscripts. As in the previously discussed DAM, AM 233 a fol. (with the exceptions on f. 9^{r}, f. 27^{r}, and f. 67^{v}), the figural scenes in Skarðsbók are found primarily in the inner fields of the initials. Entirely outlined by a thin red line, the eyes of the depicted figures are painted with 'peppercorn eyes'.[117] These features are typical of the 'Helgafell Master', but not of GKS 3270 4to and GKS 3268 4to. In addition, the clothing in the illuminations in Skarðsbók shows an elegant, close-fitting, and courtly High Gothic style which is unmatched in other Icelandic manuscripts produced at the same time. Instead, the figural style in Skarðsbók seems to trace its influences back to English manuscripts produced in East Anglia in the early fourteenth century, as will be discussed in Chapter 4.

In conclusion, the figural style of the 'Helgafell Master' does not appear to be related to either GKS 3270 4to or GKS 3268 4to, whereas the Romanesque ornamentation of Skarðsbók provides several loose stylistic resemblances to these two potential stylistic predecessors. This difference suggests that the 'Helgafell Master' received a number of stylistic and iconographic models used for GKS 3270 4to in *c.* 1350 and incorporated them in his own book painting of Skarðsbók in 1363. With all probability, the training of the 'Helgafell Master' took place at Helgafell, since a few manuscripts linked to that particular place provide iconographic models for Skarðsbók.

The Historiated Initials of AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók)

In contrast to the limited range of ornamental initials in other illuminated Icelandic manuscripts, the historiated initials of Skarðsbók offer an exceptionally wide variety. Few other fourteenth-century copies of *Jónsbók* provide as large a number of historiated initials, and it is of importance to discuss the meanings of the pictures found in Skarðsbók, since this offers a unique perspective on the working techniques of not only the 'Helgafell Master', but also of the workshop as a whole. In its present state, the manuscript contains fifteen historiated initials, most of which are also found in *Jónsbók*, the main text of the manuscript.[118] As is typical for *Jónsbók* codices, the manuscript provides major initials at the start of all sections of the law. In addition, two historiated major initials are featured at the start of the following texts, the vernacular Norwegian court law *Hirðskrá* and the Icelandic Church law *Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar*.[119] The iconography and thematic content can be roughly divided into two parts.

The first three initials provide symbolic text-image references, which in part refer to illuminations found in SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), another law manuscript to which H Hel 1 contributed the four final leaves, and the Norwegian law codex Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex

116 Gold-yellow major initials are found on f. $1^{va1–5}$, f. $2^{rb17–22}$, f. $61^{va23–28}$ and f. $91^{ra4–9}$.

117 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 27.

118 On f. $19^{ra18–22}$ an unhistoriated major initial was added to AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók) as part of the second production unit. Due to its later date, it is not included in this analysis.

119 For the content and settlement of these laws, see Strauch, *Mittelalterliches Nordisches Recht bis ca. 1500*, pp. 139–47, and Magnús Lyngdal Magnússon, '"Kátt er þeim af kristinrétti"'.

Figure 18. 'Annunciation', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 1$^{va1–5}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Hardenbergianus).[120] Unlike these two manuscripts, Skarðsbók exhibits a Christian-holistic principle that depicts a religious *credo* found in the textual structure of the whole codex.[121]

Bréf Magnúss konungs, the first text and preface to the following law *Jónsbók*, starts at f. 1$^{va1–5}$ with the first major initial. It shows the Annunciation (Figure 18). Following the standard patterns of this iconography, the proclamation of Gabriel is also found in Skarðsbók with the well-known address *Ave Maria, gratia plena* written on an upheld scroll. In the symbolic context of the text it introduces, this message is probably meant to be both political and religious, since the following secular laws are clearly intended to appear as important as this religious promise.[122] This is reminiscent of an iconographic context known from English law manuscripts produced at the same time.[123] Moreover, the reference

Figure 19. 'Throne of Grace with additional figure', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 2$^{rb17–22}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

given in Skarðsbók refers to a technique of meditative reading practice termed 'polytextual reading', which is found in illuminated books of hours from fourteenth-century England and Flanders.[124] Such 'polytextual reading' encompasses both textual and iconographic contents of an illuminated manuscript and also includes the *Ave Maria*.[125] In Skarðsbók, the Mariological link is reinforced in a cyclical way, since the short passage of Luke 11. 27–28 on f. 150$^{va21–27}$ references Mary again, as well as the importance of the word of God.[126] With respect to the symbol of a first greeting in the first initial, it appears

120 Johansson and Liepe, 'Text and Images'. For SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), see elsewhere in this chapter, and, for Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), Chapter 4.

121 Johansson and Liepe, 'Text and Images', p. 151.

122 For medial aspects of christological presentations in medieval texts, see Kiening, 'Mediologie – Christologie'.

123 L'Engle, 'Legal Iconography', pp. 75 and 80; see also Krüger, 'Das Sprechen und das Schweigen der Bilder', pp. 23–26.

124 Hout, 'Polytextual Reading'.

125 Hout, 'Polytextual Reading', pp. 204–05.

126 Johansson and Liepe, 'Text and Images', pp. 149–51.

consistent that the concluding statement refers to the importance of the recipient of the law, the law speaker. With the following initial on f. 2$^{rb17–22}$, the social importance of the reciting law speaker is further explained. It introduces the *Þingfararbálkr*, the guidelines for the election of law speakers at the annual Alþing (Figure 19).

On first sight, the initial does not appear to be directly related to the section, since the illumination depicts the iconography of the Throne of Grace, a widely known variation of the Trinity.[127] As is usual for this type of iconography, God enthroned is centrally depicted, holding Christ on a Tau Cross in the middle and sitting on a throne decorated with two sumptuous Christological lion heads. The initial in Skarðsbók depicts a further figure on the outside, kneeling on the right side and holding a book towards the bowl of the initial. It is obvious that this figure represents the terrestrial sphere, as opposed to the divine sphere in the bowls, since both the border of the initial letter and the background colour suggest a strict barrier between the two spheres. The first lines of the introduced text do not directly refer to the meaning of this additional figure, but the depicted book plays an important role for the visual understanding of the text. The following subsection on f. 2$^{va12–16}$ states that a holy book, possibly the Vulgate, is important for the oath ceremony of law speakers at the annual Alþing:

> At til þe*ss* leggr h*ann* hǫnd ahel | ga bók. *ok* þ*ví* skytr h*ann* til guds at þa m*enn* | hef*ir* h*ann* til þings nefnda at þ*ví* sin*n*i. sem | h*onu*m þ*ó*ttu uel til falln*ir ok* uenazt*ir* til skila | ept*ir* sin*n*i samuitzku.
>
> [For this he will place his hand on the Holy Book and appeal to God [to be his witness] that those men he has nominated to the Alþing at this time seem to him well suitable and most likely to carry out their duties according to their conscience.]

The textual link to the reciting law speaker is predominantly concerned with the following ecclesiastical law section of *Jónsbók*, *Kristindómsbálkr*, since it provides, among other topics, the cultural importance and background of the Christian truth of fourteenth-century Icelandic society. In this respect, the importance of the Trinity for law speakers is indicated, too, when it says on f. 5$^{rb23–25}$: 'ver s*kul*um trua æ helgan an | da. at h*ann* er san*n*r gud. sem fað*ir* ok son. *ok* | þær þriar skilning*ar* er ein*n* gud' (We shall believe in the Holy Spirit. That he is the true God, the father and the son. And all three are understood to be one God). Finally, the preface to *Jónsbók*, *Bréf Magnúss konungs*, mentions in Skarðsbók on f. 1$^{vb13–18}$ a close relationship between the role of the law speaker and Icelandic society:

> Fyrsti *h*lutr bokarin*n*ar er kristíns doms | balkr. at allir skili kristiliga tru uera gr | unduǫll *ok* upphaf allra godra *h*luta *ok* u*er*ka. | ok heilagrar k*ir*kíu hlydní *ok* hen*nar* for man*n* | a. u*er*a lysíng *ok* leidtoga til allra rettínda. *ok* | miskunnsamligra sidsemda.
>
> [The first part of this book is *Kristindómsbálkr*, so that all understand the Christian faith to be the basis and origin of all good things and works, as well as the obedience of the Holy Church, [so that] her leaders shall be a light and an example for all justice and all merciful behaviour.]

In conclusion, assuming a text–image relationship is present, it can be argued that the additional figure on f. 2$^{rb17–22}$ represents a lawspeaker during the act of the annual oath ceremony at the Alþing. This anonymous figure was clearly not intended to depict a historical person, or a suggested client, but simply a pious lawspeaker.[128] From the early twentieth century onwards,[129] scholars have wondered whether Skarðsbók was commissioned by the local aristocracy. Research has focussed on the law speaker Ormr Snorrason (1320–*c.* 1402), a descendant of the influential West Icelandic Skarðverjar á Skarð family, who lived near to Helgafell (see Map 2, above).[130] Ormr was a bibliophile and had several manuscripts made for him. One, among others, is to be discussed below: the *Postula sögur* manuscript SÁM, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis). Accordingly, it has been suggested that the initial in Skarðsbók portrays a donation picture that shows Ormr symbolically handing over the codex to a parish church,[131] possibly Skarð á Skarðströnd. From a historical point of view, there is no indication that such an event took place.[132] A connection to the church of Skarð is not likely: the church itself was dedicated to Mary, John the Evangelist, and Óláfr *helgi* Haraldsson (995–1030),[133] and not to the Trinity,

127 For the Throne of Grace iconography, see Bæsflug, *Trinität*.

128 Drechsler, 'Zur Ikonographie der AM 350 fol.', pp. 101–05.

129 *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xxxii.

130 Selma Jónsdóttir, 'Gjafamynd í íslenzku handriti', p. 18; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Hvernig litu íslenskir miðaldamenn út?', p. 28.

131 Selma Jónsdóttir, 'Gjafamynd í íslenzku handriti', p. 18.

132 Jón Helgason, 'Ortografien i AM 350 fol.', p. 47.

133 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, II, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 635. In the fourteenth century, the parish church at Skarð á Skarðströnd received a new consecration. This happened either around 1330 or

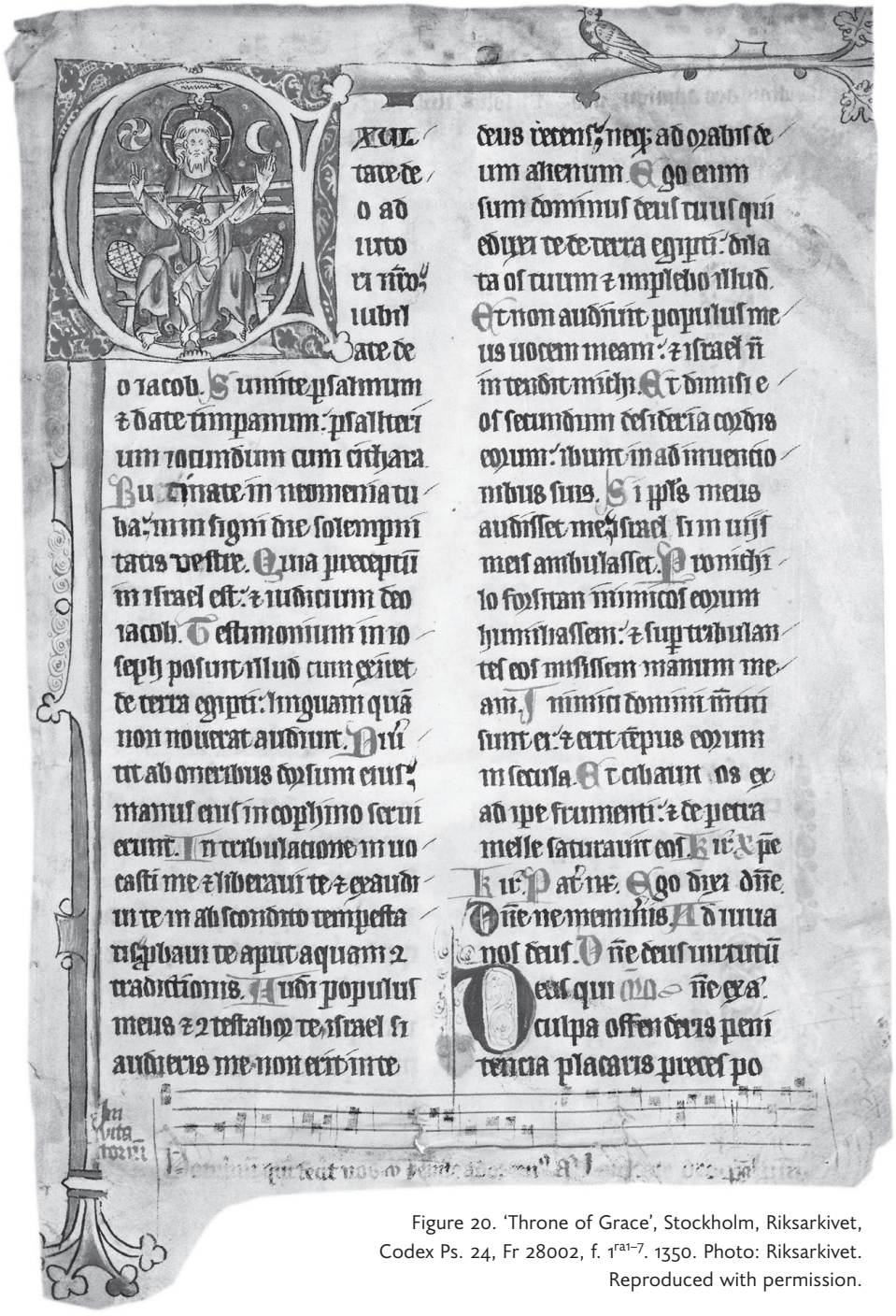


Figure 20. 'Throne of Grace', Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Codex Ps. 24, Fr 28002, f. 1$^{ra1–7}$. 1350. Photo: Riksarkivet. Reproduced with permission.

which is not known to be a church name in medieval Iceland.[134] In addition, it is unlikely that a comprehensive law manuscript such as Skarðsbók was donated to a church.[135] On the contrary, it was especially those manuscripts that were of direct use for church services that were donated. Moreover, most manuscripts found in medieval inventories of churches in the northern Icelandic Hólar diocese are purely monastic in nature.[136] Accordingly, the lay figure depicted in Skarðsbók represents an anonymous lawspeaker without a definable historical background. Furthermore, it is likely that at least in the early fifteenth century, Skarðsbók was used in a monastic setting. This is found in the content and potential use of a wide variety of vernacular and Latin legal formulas that were added to the last folios of the codex at that time, as well as further vernacular church law material (see Table 9).

The iconography of the Throne of Grace is known from another contemporary medieval Icelandic manuscript, a psalter fragment designated Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Codex Ps. 24, Fr 28003. This fragment was written and illuminated at the Benedictine monastery at Þingeyrar in northern Iceland in *c.* 1350.[137] On f. 1$^{ra1–7}$, the iconography is depicted rather conservatively (Figure 20) and does not include the added figure from Skarðsbók. The Helgafell-related *Jónsbók* codex SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to depicts an extremely faint kneeling figure attached to the initial at the start of *Kristindómsbálkr*, on f. 1$^{va7–12}$ (Figure 21). The iconography of this initial differs from that in Skarðsbók, since a western Scandinavian version of the icono-

in 1363, the date AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók) was completed. The new patron saints were Mary, St Peter, and Mary Magdalene. See Helgi Þorláksson, 'Aristocrats between Kings and Tax-Paying Farmers', p. 283.

134 Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Skarðsbók – Origins and History', pp. 49–50.

135 For church donations in medieval Iceland, see Oleson, 'Book Donors in Medieval Iceland'; Oleson, 'Book Donors in Medieval Iceland II'.

136 For inventory lists in the medieval northern Icelandic Hólar diocese, see Oleson, 'Book Collections of Mediaeval Icelandic Churches'; Oleson, 'Book Collections of Icelandic Churches in the Fourteenth Century'. Nevertheless, it should be added that an inventory list from the book collection of Árni Sigurðsson, who served as bishop of Bergen between 1305 and 1314, lists altogether thirty-two books, two of which are identified as law manuscripts. For the inventory list of Bishop Árni, see Christian Etheridge, 'Booklist'.

137 Stefán Karlsson, 'Saltarabrot í Svíþjóð með Stjórnarhendi'; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Íslenskt saltarbrot í Svíþjóð?'.

Figure 21. 'Christ in Majesty with additional figure', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3269 b 4to, f. $1^{va7–12}$. 1340.

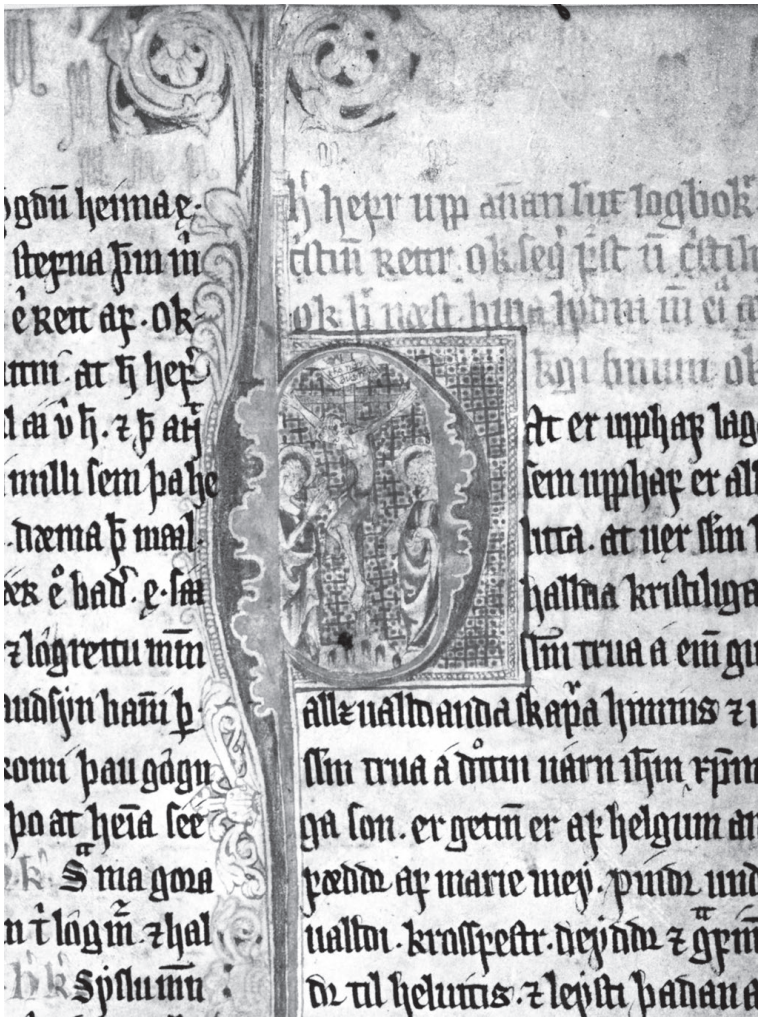


Figure 22. 'Calvary group', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. $5^{vb4–9}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Figure 23. 'Calvary group', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3270 4to, f. $23^{vb1–10}$. 1350.

graphy of Christ in Majesty is shown.[138] Still, apart from Skarðsbók, it is the only initial known from medieval Iceland that depicts an additional figure as part of a main initial. In comparison to the image from Helgafell, one can conclude that a similar iconography was indeed known at Þingeyrar at around the same time, but that no direct exchange of iconographic models took place.

In Skarðsbók, the Christological unity ends with the third initial on f. $5^{vb4–9}$, which starts *Kristindómsbálkr* (Figure 22). The image is related to the introduced text as it depicts the Calvary group, a common variation of the iconography of the Crucifixion. A related depiction of the Calvary group is found in a miniature in SÁM, GKS 3270 4to (Figure 23). In comparison to the image from GKS 3270 4to, the initial in Skarðsbók contains a number of iconographic features such as Adam's skull in the lower section (the black mark on the hill) or the missing nimbus of Christ, neither of which are depicted in the example in GKS 3270 4to. Several stylistic differences are found. Most noticeable in

138 Elsa E. Guðjónsson argued in 'Man ledte … og fandt omsider en særpræget fremstilling af Treenigheden' that the two raised hands of God in several depictions of the Trinity such as in Figures 19–20 are an Icelandic invention. This can be extended to several depictions of Christ in Majesty, which is known from several manuscripts connected to the Helgafell network (see Figure 21, above, and Figure 55, Figures 95–96, and Figure 171, below).

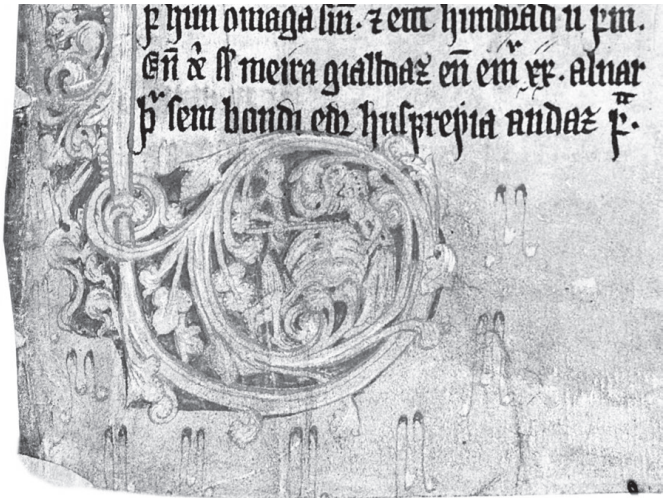


Figure 24. 'Measurement of *vaðmál*', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 9ra. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Figure 25. 'Measurement of *vaðmál*', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3269 b 4to, f. 6va. 1340.

Skarðsbók is the elaborated High Gothic style of the voluminous drapery of Mary and John the Evangelist, which is less present in GKS 3270 4to.[139] This is most likely due to a temporal delay of more than ten years between the two manuscripts.

The subsequent historiated initials in Skarðsbók follow the individually introduced sections of textual content with greater detail than the previous Christological unity. The first of these initials is found on f. 9ra at the beginning of *Konungs þegnskylda*; a section of *Jónsbók* which regulates the obligations of the king's men in Iceland (Figure 24). The initial is entirely painted in the left margin. As is commonplace for the shape of the initial in medieval manuscripts, here it is shown considerably enlarged, spanning the whole of the left margin. In the lower section, a historiated scene with two figures is depicted. It could be suggested that the whole scene shows the measurement of *vaðmál*, which was, according to the text a form of commodity tax that could be paid to the Norwegian king.[140] The action of these two figures is also known from a *bas-de-page* found in SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to (Figure 25). Despite the different style in the two paintings, their general iconographic content is clearly related.

The next historiated initial in Skarðsbók is found on f. 9$^{vb22–27}$ and depicts a manslaughter (Figure 26). It introduces the section about personal rights and the maintenance of peace in *Jónsbók*, the *Mannhelgisbálkr*. Considering the overall structure of the initial, the gesture of the kneeling victim with his hand pointing towards the ground might indicate the very topic of

Figure 26. 'Killing scene', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 9$^{vb22–27}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

139 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 67–70.

140 See *Jónsbók*, ed. by Már Jónsson, p. 97.

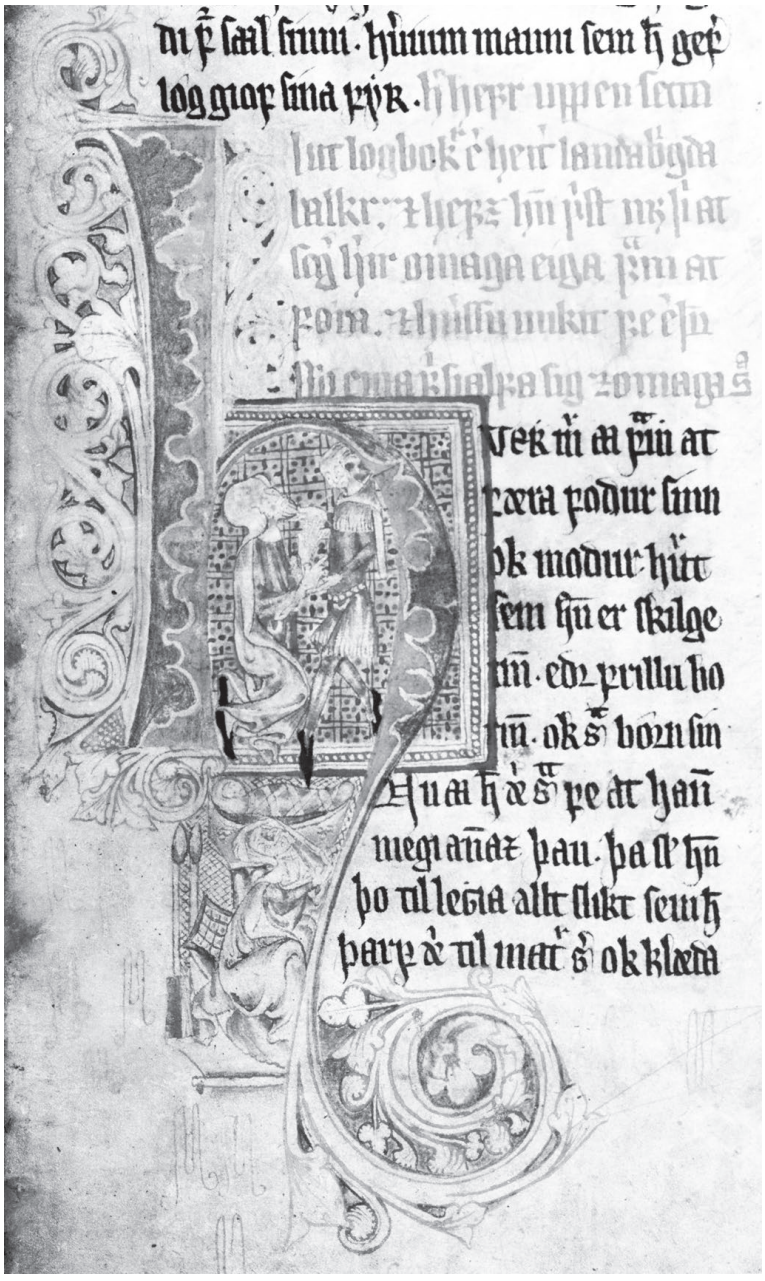


Figure 27. 'Social obligations', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 27$^{ra19–24}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

the scene: the figure is not only being killed, but his land is also being taken from him.[141] Furthermore, because of the military appearance of the killer, clad in armour and wearing a helmet, it could be assumed that he is a knight or king's man. In this case, he would operate in the king's service, which would suggest the scene to be in accordance with the law. The section that begins with the initial does not display this scene in detail, as it mainly deals with the various regulations and payments that follow a killing.[142] It is rather likely, therefore, that the killing scene displays an unlawful act.

A manslaughter at the beginning of *Mannhelgisbálkr* is depicted in two further medieval manuscripts containing *Jónsbók*. The earliest example is found in the previously mentioned Svalbarðsbók, one of the textual models for Skarðsbók. Here the killing scene is significantly different in terms of both the number of executioners and in the general meaning of the iconography,[143] and indeed suggests a different iconographic pattern. This is also the case with the depiction in SÁM, GKS 3269 a 4to on f. 19$^{rb13–20}$, a law manuscript produced *c.* 1350 at the northern Icelandic Benedictine monastery at Þingeyrar.[144] It is obvious that all three examples have different sources of inspiration.

Skarðsbók displays a constant correspondence between old and youthful figures, both in the minor and in many of the major initials.[145] In the major initials, this feature is often used to express moral references in the various negotiation scenes. An example is the following historiated initial in Skarðsbók, at the beginning of *Framfærslubálkr* on f. 27$^{ra19–24}$ (Figure 27). *Framfærslubálkr* defines how people are to take care of their direct relatives. In particular, these social duties relate to younger people, as the introductory section on f. 27$^{ra19–24}$ specifies: 'HVER maðr æ fram at | færa fodur sínn | ok modur. huort | sem hann er skilge | tinn. edr frillu bo | rinn ok svá bǫrn sín' (Every man has to support his father and mother. It does not matter whether he was born in wedlock or as an illegitimate, and the same applies to his children). The gesture of the young man in the initial on the right likely symbolizes this social

141 The use of *deixis* gestures to direct the viewer to important parts of leaves is known from both medieval and early modern book painting. For a good overview, see Wenzel, 'Deixis und Initialisierung', pp. 115–30.

142 See *Jónsbók*, ed. by Már Jónsson, p. 101.

143 See Drechsler, 'Jón Halldórsson and Law Manuscripts'. In the initial in SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók) on f. 14$^{va2–8}$, a further executioner is found in the initial, and the victim is suffering a different kind of death blow. Finally, a fourth figure on the left observes and condemns the killing spree by holding up one hand in a demanding gesture. In contrast to the discussed scene in AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), it must be assumed that the question of whether the depicted scene is either a lawful or criminal act finds its answer in the structural patterns of the illumination: the commanding gesture of the person on the left is clearly distinguished from the killing scene by the shape of the initial letter.

144 Jakobsen, *Studier i Clarus saga*, pp. 46 and 12. The initial in SÁM, GKS 3269 a 4to shows the killing of a standing figure, where the victim is killed by a sword blow to the stomach region. On the rear side, the killer holds up a shield over the body of the victim, possibly to conceal the killing action.

145 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 37–38; *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 26.

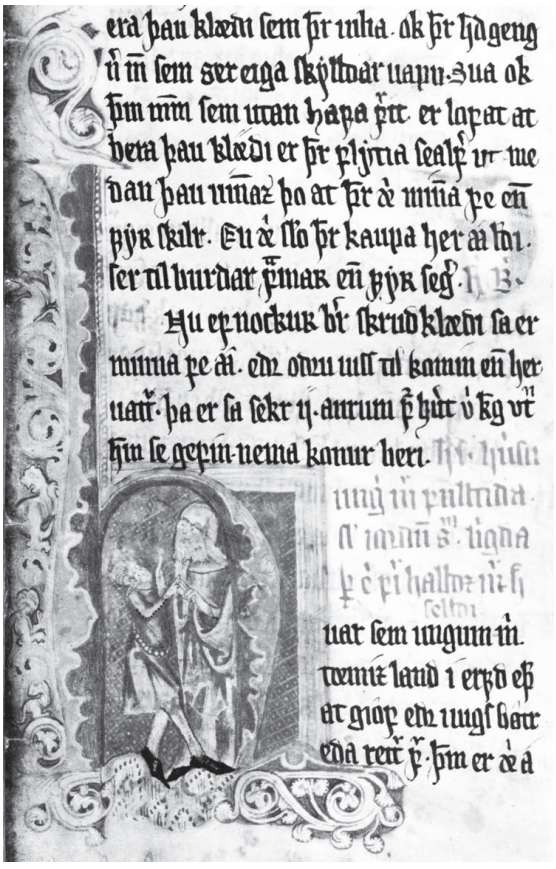


Figure 28. 'Old and young man', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 31$^{ra22–28}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

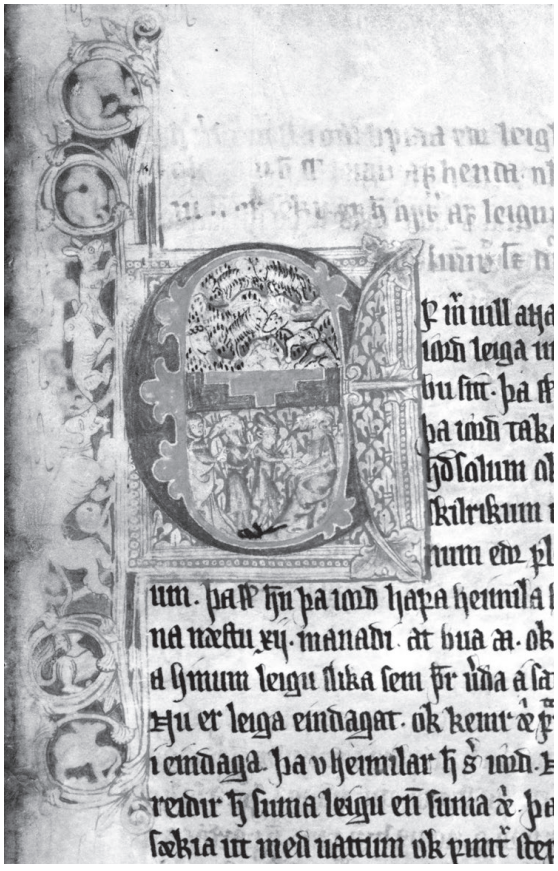


Figure 29. 'Lease of land', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 34$^{ra4–11}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

aspect.[146] Taken together with the mother below the initial, lying on the ground together with a young child above her, the implied attitude that the young man has towards the old man and the mother and child depicted on the outside strongly supports a moral explanation of the text.[147] The *Framfærslubálkr* is not illuminated in any further manuscripts containing *Jónsbók* and no iconographic reference exists to suggest a model. It must be assumed, therefore, that the 'Helgafell Master' created the historiated content of the initial.

The next initial follows the convention of the young-old images as well (Figure 28). The initial marks the beginning of the *Landabrigðabálkr*, the *Jónsbók* section about collective use of land. On f. 31$^{ra25–rb3}$ it describes the rights of young men who inherit land:

> Huar sem ungum m*anni* | tæmíz land í erfd eþ*r* | at gjǫf edr í uigs bátr | eda rett*ar* f*ar*. Þe*im* er æ*igi* á | sealfr u*ar*dueitzlu fiar síns. ok selr fiar | halldz m*aðr* h*ans* i br*o*tt. þa á h*a*nn brigd til þ*ess* | l*an*dz hu*or*t sem er eitt eðr fleiri.
>
> [Once a young man receives land through inheritance or as a gift or in wergild or juridical compensation, who does not have self-governance over his property and his guardian sells his property, then he [the young man] has a claim to the land, whether it is one or more.]

The implied problems that such an inheritance of land might bring are directly reflected in the initial: the young inheritor seems to be in a dispute with the elderly custodian who sold the land on which they stand. As with the former initial, this is the only known initial that illuminates the *Landabrigðabálkr* in such a way; a related iconographic model is unknown from Iceland. It can thus be assumed that again the 'Helgafell Master' created the image alone.

Furthermore, the next initial on f. 34$^{ra4–11}$ follows the disputative character of the introduced text (Figure 29). It introduces the *Búnaðarbálkr* section and explains the specific lease rights of farmlands.

146 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 26–27.
147 Drechsler, 'Marginalia', pp. 192–93.

Figure 30. 'Lease of land', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 168 a 4to, f. 30$^{v1–5}$. 1360.

Figure 31. 'Lease of land', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3269 b 4to, f. 27$^{rb4–9}$. 1340.

As depicted in the two former initials, this initial is also described on f. 34$^{ra5–12}$: 'Ef m*að*r uill a*n*nars | iǫrd leiga und*ir* | bu sítt. þa s*ka*l h*ann* | þa iǫrd taka me*ð* | h*an*dsolum ok íj. | skilrikum uit | num edr fleir | um' (Once someone wants to lease land from someone else to live on it, he needs to take the land with a handshake [in the presence of] two or more trustworthy witnesses). The roleplay depicted on the previous initial is reversed here: the elderly figure acts as the landowner who leases his land to the younger figure in the middle. All further figures act as guarantors, signified by their raised hands. The leased land is possibly shown on the upper part of the initial with the depiction of goats and sheep. Furthermore, the fighting goats could be viewed as a humorous display of the disputatious character of the text. The depiction in the left margin is also possibly related to the lase of land: next to the initial, a dog is depicted hunting its prey (two rabbits). This scene might relate to the fruitfulness of the land that is leased and, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, to an East Anglian iconographic model. In Skarðsbók, such depictions are generally not related to the text.

The *Búnaðarbálkr* is further depicted in two manuscripts containing *Jónsbók*. The first is SÁM, AM 168 a 4to from *c.* 1360,[148] which on stylistic terms belongs to the wider Helgafell network (Figure 30).[149]

Unfortunately, several colours have faded, but the scene in the inner panel is still recognizable and depicts two standing figures shaking hands. In contrast to the example from Skarðsbók, it seems that the figure on the right points to the ground with one hand, possibly signalling the land that is being leased. Similar to the image in Skarðsbók is an initial in the previously discussed *Jónsbók* codex SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to. On f. 27$^{rb4–9}$ the two standing figures are found again, together with related gestures such as shaking hands and pointing to the opposing figure (Figure 31). In addition, similarly to the image in Skarðsbók, GKS 3269 b 4to depicts the two pro forma needed witnesses on the left as added human heads, which are absent in the initial in AM 168 a 4to. Accordingly, even if all three initials follow slightly different models, the main iconographic part remains the same: an agreement by handshake, witnessed by two persons.

The next initial in Skarðsbók is the first to deviate from the young-old scheme (Figure 32). It initiates the *Rekabálkr*, a *Jónsbók* section stating the regulations about stranded goods, mostly whales and wood. The scene is only indirectly related to the introduced subsection of *Jónsbók*. Yet, due to the fact that the section that begins with this initial regulates the legal rights of people with respect to beached goods washed ashore, it could be assumed that the various depicted figures indicate several owners of the whale meat. Furthermore, the three meat slices on the upper part might indicate the

148 *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xli.

149 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 153. AM 168 a 4to belongs together with SÁM, AM 168 b 4to. For this, see *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xli.

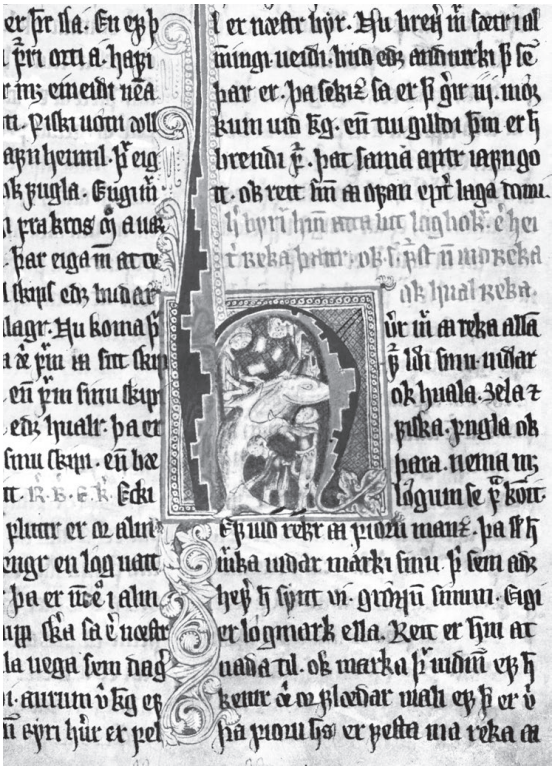


Figure 32. 'Cutting of a whale', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 51$^{rb15–21}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

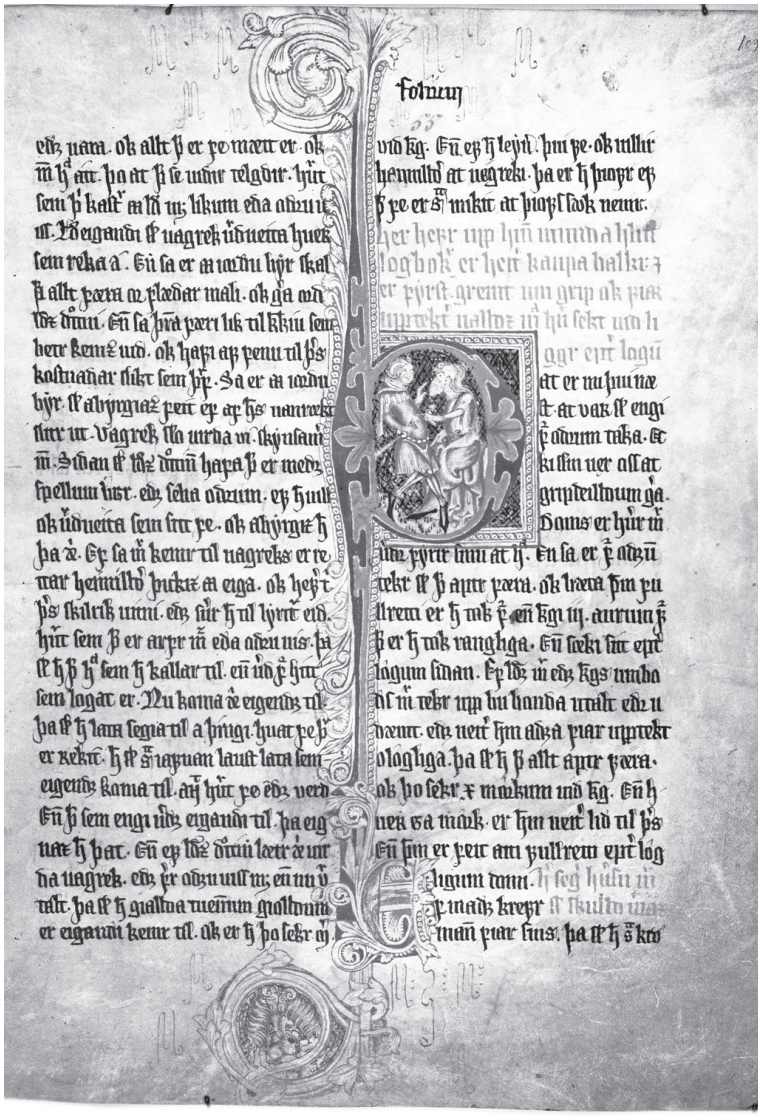


Figure 33. 'Negotiation scene', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 55$^{rb8–14}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

specific situation when cut whale meat is washed ashore at another location. In this case, according to the introduced text, the owner of that beach is the rightful owner of the meat.[150] As with the initial on f. 9$^{vb22–27}$ in Skarðsbók, *Rekabálkr* is also illuminated in manuscripts from Þingeyrar. Once again, a different approach to the same text was chosen and few iconographic similarities are identifiable.[151] It can be concluded, therefore, that also for the *Rekabálkr* section two different iconographic models were in circulation in Iceland by the time Skarðsbók was illuminated.

The subsequent initial in Skarðsbók on f. 55$^{rb8–14}$ again depicts a young-old reference as part of a negotiation scene (Figure 33). It marks the beginning of *Kaupabálkr*, the *Jónsbók* section about domestic and foreign trade, and it depicts two men in a lively discussion. The appearance of the younger man stands out, as he is clad in an elegant close-fitting tunic with a white-spotted belt and a fringed hood on his shoulders. The detailed clothing might indicate a human characteristic which is the topic of the introduced text on f. 55$^{rb9–18}$:

> Þat er nu þuí næ | st. at var *skal* engí | *fyrir* odrum taka. Ec | ki sk*ulu*m uer oss at | gripdeilldum g*er*a. | Doms er hu*er* m*að*r | u*er*dr fyrir sinu at h*afa*. | En sa er f*yrir* odru*m* | tekr s*kal* þ*at* aptr færa. ok bæta þ*ei*m fu | ll retti er h*ann* tok.
>
> [Now follows that we shall not take anything from others or be involved in theft. Each man has the right to a legal judgement on his belongings. But those who take belongings from others must replace them and pay full compensation to those from whom he has taken.]

150 See *Jónsbók*, ed. by Már Jónsson, pp. 201–02.

151 These are found in two law manuscripts from Þingeyrar, SÁM, GKS 3269 a 4to (on f. 61$^{rb1–8}$) and SÁM, AM 127 4to (on f. 65$^{rb15–20}$). The two initials depict a large fish, seemingly washed ashore, and indicated by waves painted in the foreground. The whale meat is being carved by a number of figures.

Figure 34. 'Negotiation scene', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3269 b 4to, f. 45$^{vb4–8}$. 1340.

It is reasonable to argue that the initial directly depicts this quotation: the younger man took belongings or money from the older man to buy the fashionable clothing he is wearing, and the older man is now claiming this back. The disputative nature of the scene in the initial is further elaborated in the *bas-de-page* of the same leaf, where two fighting rams are depicted, butting their horned heads against each other. It could be assumed that the disputative character of the figurative scene in the initial is allegorically translocated to the animal kingdom,[152] although it is equally likely that the rams were intended to display the sort of goods that the two figures are bargaining over.[153]

As before with the *Rekabálkr*, the *Kaupabálkr* is again depicted in a manuscript from Þingeyrar, but no iconographic similarity to the image in Skarðsbók can be found.[154] The Helgafell-related law manuscript SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to features a closer iconographic model to Skarðsbók (Figure 34): On f. 45$^{vb4–8}$, the

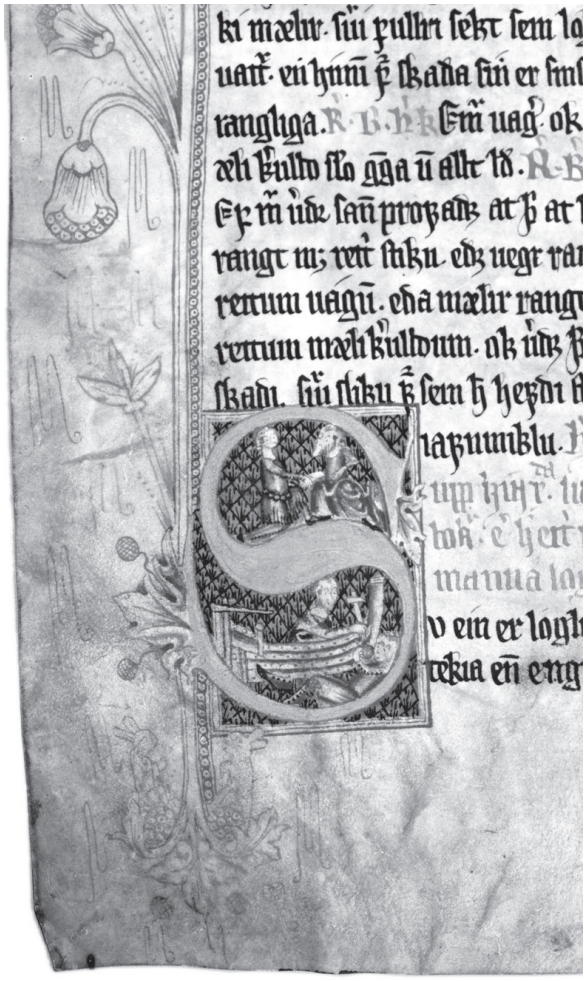


Figure 35. 'Agreement for a sea voyage', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 61$^{va23–28}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

young and the old figures are depicted as well, and despite being of a lower artistic quality, the gesture and the hood of the figure on the left is indeed related to the image in Skarðsbók.

On f. 61$^{va23–28}$ in Skarðsbók, the next historiated initial is found. It introduces *Farmannalǫg*, the nautical laws (Figure 35). Following the shape of the initial, the illumination is divided into two scenes, each populated by two figures. As in previous examples, this scene directly depicts the introduced text on f. 61$^{va27–vb2}$: 'Su eín er loglig far | tekia en*n* engi ǫnn*ur* | at í h*ǫ*nd s*k*a*l* t*aka* stýri m*anni*. eðr h*anz* lǫgligu*m* um | bodz m*anni*. ok nefna uitni v*ið*. íj. edr fleirí' (This alone is a lawful contract of carriage and no other, [he] shall take the hand of the ship's master or his legal agent and name two or more witnesses). Assuming a text–image relationship is present, it is the ship's master, seated on the bench above, who appears to agree with the passenger kneeling before him to grant him a safe sea voyage. The second scene

152 Glauser, 'Marginalien des Sagatextes', p. 156.

153 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 27. The sixth subsection of *Kaupabálkr* defines the value of various domestic animals in spring. For this, see *Jónsbók*, ed. by Már Jónsson, pp. 212–14.

154 The Þingeyrar codex GKS 3269 a 4to offers a historiated initial at the beginning of *Kaupabálkr* on f. 65$^{va17–25}$. In it, a single figure is depicted holding a set of weighing scales. On each side, the head of a cow and a horse frames the figure. Due to the mirrored animal heads and the scales, a known symbol for justice and equality, it could be assumed that the initial displays a more general idea regarding the content of the introduced text: a trade agreement regarding agricultural goods, in this case animals. This is supported by a further scene in the left margin next to the initial, where the herding of cattle is depicted.

Figure 36. 'Agreement for a sea voyage', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 168 a 4to, f. 48$^{v9–13}$. 1360.

in the lower part of the initial seems to be directly connected to the introduced text as well. An explanation for this scene is found on f. 61$^{vb11–20}$ in the second subsection of *Farmannalǫg*:

> Skip þ*at* | er ausa þ*arf* þrysu*ar* | a íj. dægrum. er talt fært í | allar far*ar*. ne*m*a haset*ar* uili hlíta leka*ra* ski | pi. En*n* ef styri m*enn* lata ausa skip um næ | tr f*yrir* hasetum. þa heyr*ir* þ*at* | til suika u*ið* þa ok eiga styrim*að*r at bæta þ*a*nn skaða alla*n* | er af þ*ui* ge*r*izt. hu*ort* e*r* þ*at* er um fe m*anna* edr fjǫr. | edr huarttue*gg*ía, þ*at* þ*ví* fals a hue*r* at b | æta er sialfr gǫrdí.
>
> [A ship that needs to be pumped out three times within two days is reckoned seaworthy for all voyages, unless the crew accepts a less waterproof ship. But if ship masters have their ships bailed at night [away from] the crew, this is fraudulent against the crew; and the ship masters have to compensate for all the damage that may arise, whether that is for the life of a man or goods or both, since every man must pay compensation for his fraud.]

Following this explanation, it is reasonable to argue that the two described figures are currently repairing a leaking ship. This is not only supported by their depicted actions, but also by the indication of a repaired section on the stern. No correspondence in characters with the scene above is recognizable. It should be noted that a separation of the two scenes is also recognizable in the division of the text, since the first section is described in the scene above and the second in the one below.

Loose iconographic references for the two scenes are found in various instances but without any direct model. Generally, this scene undoubtedly refers

Figure 37. 'Agreement for a sea voyage', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3269 b 4to, f. 51$^{ra5–10}$. 1340.

to a royal model type, in which a seated king is depicted with several followers. But a direct link to any Icelandic illuminations is not distinguishable. As for the lower scene, distant structural influence from the iconography of David praying in the water is recognizable. Especially in English historiated initials of the early fourteenth century, this iconography is often used with a similar letter shape.[155] It usually depicts two combined scenes. Below, King David is depicted lying on his back on the right in the water, praying to Christ. God's son is depicted above on a throne bench, blessing the praying king below. Compared with such depictions, the seated man in the upper domain in Skarðsbók, together with the supine figure below who is holding his hands up, seems to structurally reflect the iconography of David praying in the water. Alternatively, the conversion of Jonah could have been used as a model. This iconography usually depicts Jonah lying on his back in the lower part of the letter. In the possible adaptation in Skarðsbók, no whale is mentioned, which is an otherwise important part of the original iconography.

Farmannalǫg is illuminated in three other fourteenth-century *Jónsbók* copies, two of which belong to the wider Helgafell network.[156] The first one is

155 See *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, p. 213.

156 A maritime scene is also known from the Þingeyrar law manuscript SÁM, GKS 3269 a 4to, where a populated ship is depicted on f. 73$^{rb6–14}$. Moving waves under the ship, as well as a blowing sail, signal an active voyage.

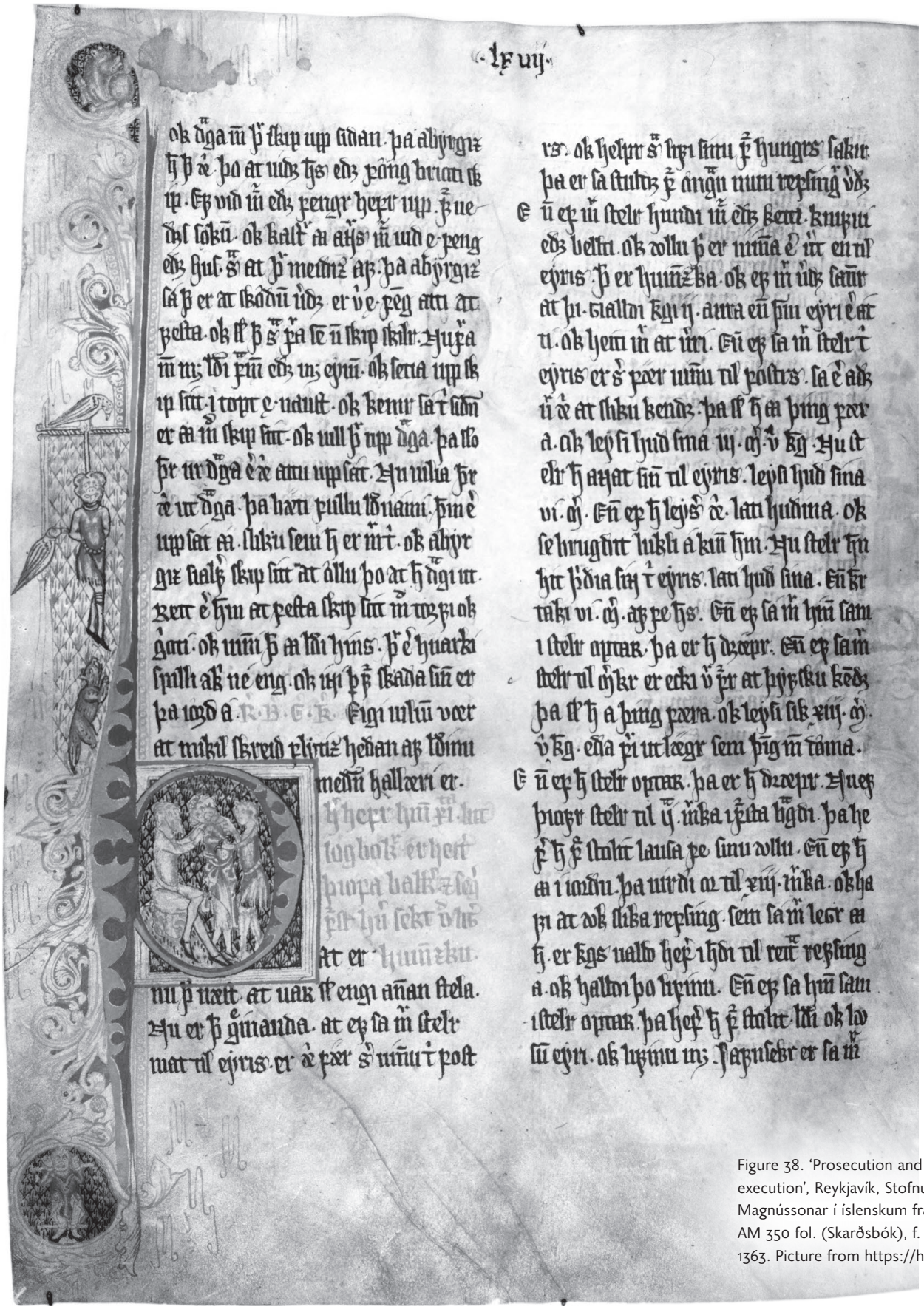


Figure 38. 'Prosecution and execution', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 67$^{v20–25}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

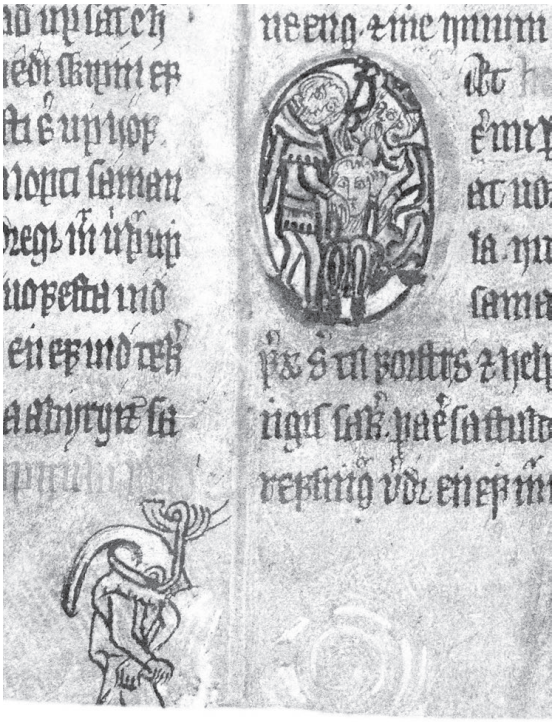


Figure 39. 'Prosecution and execution', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3269 b 4to, f. 55va. 1340.

found in SÁM, AM 168 a 4to (Figure 36). In contrast to the initial in Skarðsbók, both figures are shown standing; the figure on the left stands on a painted extension, which might again be indicative of a different social standing. AM 168 a 4to depicts, in the lower part of the initial, a single ship, while the upper part is ornamented with convoluted acanthus tendrils. SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to also depicts a related scene on f. 51$^{ra5–10}$ (Figure 37). Here both figures are shown together on the boat, but as with the previous *Búnaðarbálkr* in Skarðsbók, the main iconographic detail remains the same in all images: an agreement by handshake. In conclusion, several structural patterns from AM 168 a 4to and GKS 3269 b 4to are found again in Skarðsbók and indicate that the 'Helgafell Master' had access to similar iconographic models. Nevertheless, he elaborated the content and inserted several further text-related details.

This is especially the case with the next initial in Skarðsbók on f. 67$^{va20–25}$, which introduces the *Þjófabálkr* (Figure 38). In terms of the text, the *Jónsbók* section describes the treatment and punishment of thieves. Spread over the whole left side of the leaf, three scenes display parts of the *Þjófabálkr*: the prosecution, flogging, and execution of a thief. Due to their complex relationship to the text, each of these scenes will be discussed and compared with related depictions from related law manuscripts produced at the same time and slightly earlier. The inner field of the illumination depicts a captured thief with an apish grimace and two judges. These additional figures might refer to a short passage on f. 68$^{ra16–23}$:

> Ef þiofr er | fundin*n*. þa sk*al* bínda fol.a abak | h*onu*m. i þ*eim* *h*ʀepp sem þiofr er te | kin*n*. ok færa h*onum* umboðs m*an*n*i* bundin*n*. *ok* | halldi k*onun*gs umboðs maðr h*onum* til þings *ok* | af þíngi í fjóru eðr hraun. eðr nokk*ur*n | þ*an*n stad sem hent þikk*ir*. Enn umboðs m*aðr* f | ai man*ni* til at drepa h*ann*. ok s*vá* alla þiofa.
>
> [Once a thief is found, the stolen goods shall be bound on his back in the parish where he is captured and he shall be transferred bound to the king's agent and taken to the þing and from there to the beach, lava field or to an area that appears suitable. Then the agent has to find men to kill him [the thief] and so all thieves [shall be treated].]

The specific reference to the law is further strengthened on f. 68$^{ra15–16}$ in the rubric of the second section: 'h*er* s*egia* hu*er*su þiof*r* | sk*al* refsa at lǫgu*m*' (Here it is told how a thief shall be punished according to the law). It could be assumed, therefore, that the initial in Skarðsbók stresses the importance of the delegate of the king, both in the text and possibly also in the image. The man on the right represents the sheriff who delivers the thief to the Royal Commissary displayed on the left. This may also explain the elegant pose of the seated figure, who is again depicted with his legs crossed and both feet turned downward.[157]

In light of possible structural influences on the initial, it seems reasonable to consider an influence from the respective historiated initial in GKS 3269 b 4to (Figure 39), where a delegate of the king, wearing a royal crown, prosecutes the criminal from the right side by holding up a rope-entangled hammer. Accompanying the main initial in Skarðsbók, the margins depict a bound thief as well. Apart from the capture of the thief, no further indication is found of a direct text–image reference. Skarðsbók describes on f. 67$^{vb13–16}$ the marking of thieves after

157 In structural terms, the motif in the initial could be linked to the iconography of the Flagellation of Christ from John 18. 1, where Christ is shackled to a pole by two or more prosecutors. It might have been a distant iconographic model for AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók) but was not used for the initial in AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók). See Drechsler, 'Thieves and Workshops'. In addition, the previously mentioned Norwegian law manuscript GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus) features a historiated initial at the beginning of *Þjófabálkr*, where the iconography of the Flagellation of Christ was adapted, too. See Drechsler, 'The Illuminated Þjófabálkr', pp. 13–15.

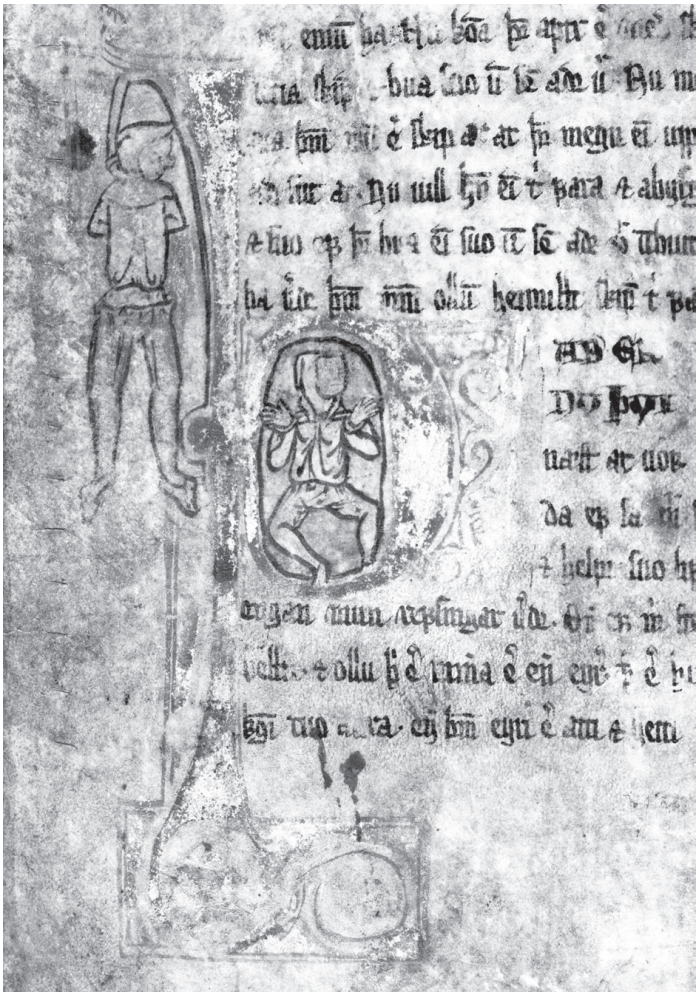


Figure 40. 'Prosecution and execution', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 168 a 4to, f. 54^{v}. 1360.

a theft in a comparable manner: 'Nu st | elr h*ann* an*n*at sin*n* til eyris*s*. leysi hud sína | vi. m*ǫrkum*. En*n* ef h*ann* leys*ir* æ*igi*. lati hudina. ok | se bragðit lukli á kin*n* h*onum*' (If he steals goods worth an ounce a second time, he shall pay six marks to save his skin; but if he is not able to pay for his side, he shall be marked with a key on his cheek). In addition, SÁM, AM 168 a 4to provides a related model of the capture theme. In the initial, a hooded thief is pictured (Figure 40). His hands are bound to a pole and fastened to his upper back, similar to the thief figure on the lower margin of Skarðsbók. Finally, two examples from Þingeyrar are also known, but they are not related to the initial in Skarðsbók.[158] The motif influence of SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to on Skarðsbók is exceptional. Yet, both codices are individual in character: while Skarðsbók, the latest codex of all manuscripts depicting a historiated initial at the beginning of the *Þjófabálkr*, includes new and formerly unknown iconographic features such as ape grimaces, the hammer symbolism in particular, as well as the depicted king figure, are distinctive for the image in GKS 3269 b 4to.

In addition to the conviction, Skarðsbók offers a further depiction of a thief: the punishment. On the outside of the right column, a hanging scene is shown. The hanging of thieves is almost always depicted outside of the initial. This fact supports the previously assumed idea that the act of hanging in medieval Nordic societies was considered the worst death possible.[159] This fits in well with a known iconographic rule, namely that the gradation from the initial to the marginalia plays a vital role for the meaning of the book painting.[160] Apart from the belt in the hanging scene, the clothing of the thief indicates that it is the same figure from the counter, who has stolen several times and has eventually been killed. This is expressed in a symbolic way: in all three instances, the thief is depicted with an ape-like face. It is reasonable to argue that the ape-thief figure is a feature that acts as an example of evil for the reader and for the overall Christian society of fourteenth-century Iceland.[161]

GKS 3269 b 4to and AM 168 a 4to also display hanged thieves (see Figures 39–40). In contrast to Skarðsbók, the faces of the thieves are in both examples covered by a *gugel* (a hood with a liripipe), and their hands are bound behind their backs. The absence of the gugel in Skarðsbók might be due to the more aristocratic character of the book painting, as seen in the elaborated style of clothing. Since the gugel was considered in fashion for the upper class at the time at which the codex was illuminated, it might be that its client had less interest in such a depiction than the potential clients of GKS 3269 b 4to and AM 168 a 4to.[162] It is indeed possi-

158 Drechsler, 'The Illuminated Þjófabálkr', p. 9. The two law manuscripts from Þingeyrar provide illuminations of the *Þjófabálkr*, too. On f. 79$^{vb15–22}$, GKS 3269 a 4to displays the topic in great detail where the thief is depicted in the middle, walking crookedly to the right, while the stolen item — a ram — is bound on his back by one of his captors on the right. A depiction of a thief with stolen goods is furthermore found on f. 87$^{rb1–6}$ in SÁM, AM 127 4to: here, the thief is holding a stolen anvil. Neither are related to the illumination in AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók).

159 Gade, 'Hanging in Northern Law and Literature', pp. 167–68.

160 Drechsler, 'The Illuminated Þjófabálkr', p. 31.

161 Drechsler, 'Zur Ikonographie der AM 350 fol.', pp. 91–94; Malm, 'The Analogous Ape of Physiologus'.

162 Drechsler, 'The Illuminated Þjófabálkr', p. 30. This is possibly also the case with a historiated initial from the Þingeyrar law manuscript GKS 3269 a 4to, where the hanging of a thief is depicted in the lower margin on f. 79^{vb}. This image differs from the other portrayals, as it shows the thief being bound at the front. Thus, as is apparent from the given examples, the topic of a hanged

ble that the clients of these two manuscripts were non-aristocratic individuals. In this way, the gugel in Skarðsbók might be understood as a symbol for wealth (due to the up-to-date fashion depicted in most of the initials in this manuscript).

The next main initial found in Skarðsbók is on f. 91$^{ra4–9}$, where *Hirðskrá*, the following main text in Skarðsbók, is introduced (Figure 41). The court law describes the basic rules of decency for the kings' men in the Norwegian Realm (including Iceland) and the regulations that apply to new followers in the court. The scene is explained on f. 99$^{rb24–va22}$, where the consecration of a *hirðmaðr*, a follower of the king, is described:

> Þann tíma | er konungr uill hirdmann gǫra. þa | skal ægi standa borð fyrir konungi. Konungr skal | hafa uigslu suærd sítt a kne ser. ef hann er coronaðr. ok uenda aptr Dogskonum || undir hǫnd ser. ok leggia meðalkaflann fram yfir | kne ser. suerpi sidan fetil sylgiunni upp yfir | medal kaflan. ok gripi sua hægri hendi ofan | yfir allt saman. Enn sa er hirðmaðr skal gerazt | skal falla a kne badum fotum. a golf | edr skǫr fyrir konungi. ok taka upp badum hendum | um medal kaflann. ok minniz við hǫnd konungi. | sidan skal hann upp standa. ok suía ord at b | ok þeiri er konongr fær honom. med þessir eid staf | il þess leggr ek hǫnd a helga bok ok þvi skytr | ek til guðs. at ek skal uera hollr ok trur | mínum herra. h. noregs konungi. openberli | ga. ok leyniliga. fylgia skal ek honum innanlandz | ok utan. ok huaergi við hann skiliaz. nema hans | se lof edr leysi til. nema full naudsyn | banni. Hallda skal ek eida þa er hann hefír | suarit ollu landz fol.kínu. eptir þvi um sem | guð ler mer. Guð se mik sem hollr sem ek sa | tt segír. gramr ef ek lygr. Siðan skal hann | falla a kne fyrir konung. ok leggia hendr sinir badar | saman. Enn konungr badar sinar hendr um hans | hendr.
>
> [Around the time when the king wants to appoint *hirðmenn* [to the court] a table must not stand before the king. The king shall have his coronation sword on his knee, if he is crowned. He shall turn the point of the sword below his hand and lay the handle forwards on his knee. He shall then lay the strap-buckle around the hilt and grip everything with his right hand from above. But the one that shall become a *hirðmaðr* shall fall to his knees on the pedestal or the ground before the king and cover with both hands the handle of the sword. He shall then kiss the hand of the king. Then he shall stand up and swear the oath on the book that the king gives him: 'While I lay my hand on this Holy Book, I swear before God that I shall be faithful and true to my lord, the king of Norway, both publicly and hidden. I will follow him both inland and abroad and I will never separate from him unless he himself allows me or through mandatory circumstances. I shall hold to this oath which he has sworn to all people of the land, according to what God teaches me. May God have mercy on me if I speak the truth and [may he be] merciless if I lie.' He shall then fall to his knees before the king and lay his hands together. Then the king shall lay his hands around the other [man's] hands.]

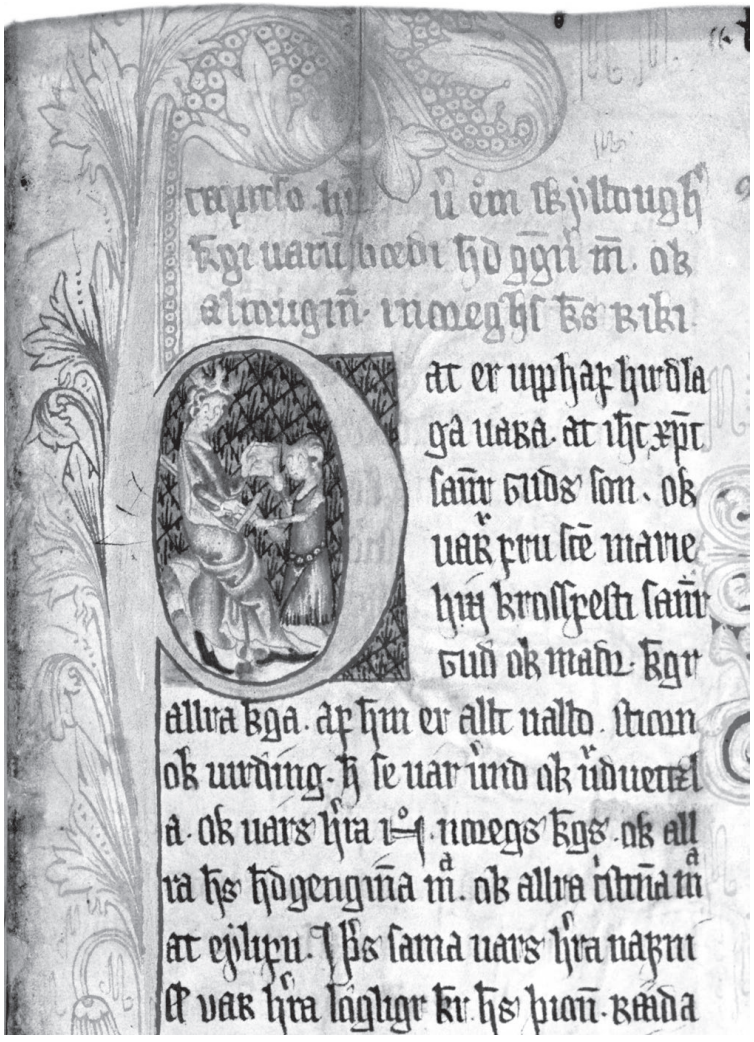


Figure 41. 'Consecration', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 91$^{ra4–9}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

thief was popular and attractive to Icelandic book painters when Skarðsbók was painted.

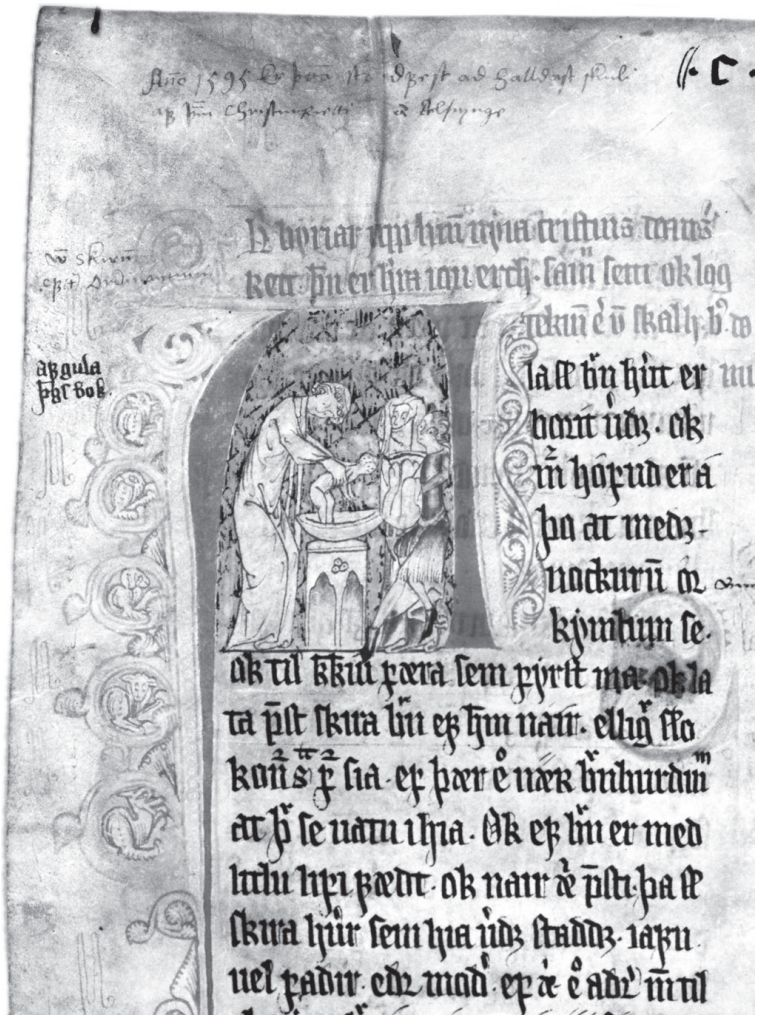


Figure 42. 'Baptism', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 107$^{va3–9}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

The oath with its two acts is depicted in the initial: the follower of the king holds a Holy Book up in one hand (in this case together with the king), while his other hand touches the handle of the king's sword.[163] Interestingly, the scene not only displays the celebratory ceremony of the nomination of the king's man, it also refers to an actual historical situation. In the decades following the introduction of *Jónsbók* in 1281, many *handgengnir menn*, sworn men of the Icelandic aristocracy, had a specific social status in Icelandic society and had great interest in becoming sworn to the king.[164] It could be assumed that the depicted scene was still popular among the Icelandic aristocracy at the time of production of Skarðsbók.

The last historiated initial in Skarðsbók is found on f. 107$^{va3–9}$ (Figure 42). It introduces the last major text, *Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar* and depicts a baptism. The introduced text on f. 107$^{va4–20}$ explains the scene in a symbolic way:

> Ala s*k*al b*a*rn hu*e*rt er | borít u*e*rðr . ok | m*a*nns hǫfud er á | þa at medz | nockur*um* ǫr | kymlum se | ok til k*i*rkiu færa sem fyrst *ko*ma . ok la | ta p*r*est skira h*a*nn ef h*o*n*u*m naír. ellig*ar* sk*u*lo | kon*r* s*vá* f*y*rir sia . ef þær e*ru* nær b*a*rnburdi-n*um* | at þ*ar* se uatn i hia. ok ef b*a*rn er med | litlu lifi fædt ok nair æ*i*g*i* p*r*esti. þa s*k*al | skira hu*e*rr sem hia v*e*rdr staddr. iafn | uel fadir edr mod*ir* ef æ*i*g*i* e*ru* aðr*ir* m*e*nn til | ok dyfa b*a*rninu í uatnít íij. sínum | ok mæla þ*e*ssi orð meðan: Jan edr G | uðrun. Ek skiri þik ínafní fodur. | ok son*ar.* ok anda heilags.
>
> [Every child who is born and has a human head shall be brought up, even if it is disabled, and shall be taken to the next church and christened by a priest if it happens that he is nearby. Otherwise, the kinsman shall ensure, if they are near the birth of the child, that there is water nearby. If the child is born with little life and no priest is available, then whoever is nearby needs to baptize the child; even the father or the mother, if no one else is available. And he [or she] shall duck the child three times under the water and speak simultaneously the following words: Jón or Guðrún. I baptise you in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.]

As with most of the former initials, this initial is a rather direct reproduction of the introduced text, as the priest seems to baptize the new-born child in the presence of his parents.[165] Interestingly, the baptismal font is decorated with three dotted circles that can be interpreted as a trefoil, a common expression for the Trinity, which appeared to be particularly important for the first part of Skarðsbók. Left of the initial, a floral ornamentation is attached beside the extended initial letter. Within several medallions, a group of grotesque figures is depicted. It is not clear to what degree these figures are connected to the textual or visual content of the main initial in general, but it could be assumed that they represent figures antag-

163 In AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), the holy book from f. 99^{va8} is written in the same way as in the historiated initial from f. 2$^{rb17–22}$ at the start of the *Þingfararbálkr* discussed earlier. There is no further indication that the iconographic images of these two initials were intended to be linked together.

164 Sigurður Líndal, 'The Law Codes of Skarðsbók', p. 55. See also Axel Kristinsson, 'Embættismenn konungs fyrir 1400', pp. 121–29.

165 For the legal and historical background to the text section in *Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar*, see Winroth, 'The Canon Law of Emergency Baptism'.

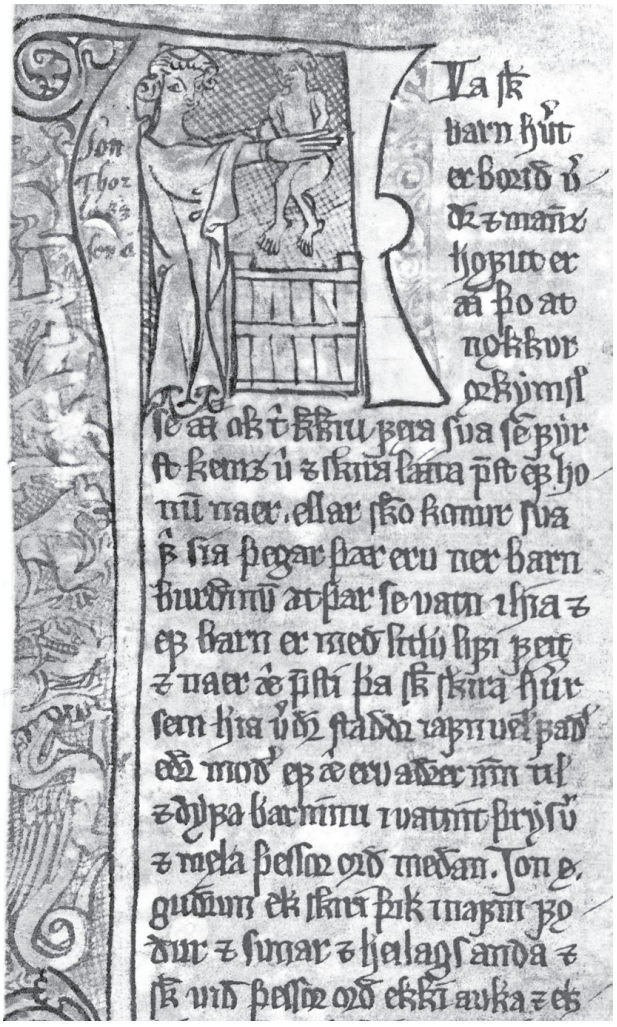


Figure 43. 'Baptism', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3269 a 4to, f. 89$^{va1–8}$. 1350.

onistic to the scene in the initial.[166] In the introductory sections of *Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar*, several stages of life are treated: baptism, confirmation, and parenthood. As part of the parenthood section, it is mentioned that all children must be raised. This is possibly linked to the heathen law famous from *Íslendingabók* that allowed heathens to expose unwanted children after their birth, declared at the Christianization of Iceland in 999/1000.[167]

Since baptism is the very first rite by which one is welcomed into the Church and society, it is very likely the initial in Skarðsbók was also meant to convey a political message. According to the baptism formula from Matthew 3. 13–17, it is likely that references to the first illuminations at the start of the manuscript are given again: while the three Christological initials underline the symbolic importance of the written text, the following ones are only concerned directly with the section that is introduced.[168] The Christian circle is brought to a close on f. 107$^{va3–9}$ with the discussed initial, as it refers again to Christianity as the rightful religion of medieval Icelandic society in the introductory *Bréf Magnúss konungs* of *Jónsbók*. Historiated initials of *Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar* are found in two further Icelandic manuscripts, one of which may be related to the initial in Skarðsbók. In the Þingeyrar law manuscript SÁM, GKS 3269 a 4to, a rather similar scene is depicted but with fewer features (Figure 43): on the left, a figure clad in a long tunic holds a child over a wooden baptismal font.[169] Comparable to the paintings in Skarðsbók, GKS 3269 a 4to displays five grylli figures in the left margin, but further structural references between the two initials are not discernible.

In conclusion, the consistently high level of proficiency, both in the use of iconographic models and in the adding of text-related details, is unique for Skarðsbók in fourteenth-century Iceland. It makes two things clear. Firstly, a new technique of combining various law texts, statutes, formulas, and amendments to a new form of compendium must be the product of a well-read initiator. Secondly, the historiated initials support the meaning of the introduced text on an entirely new level. This is especially the case with the first three main initials, the Christological unity in the first part of the manuscript. Both the combination of iconography and the additional figure in f. 2$^{rb17–22}$ show that iconographic models known from elsewhere in Iceland were reused in a novel, yet still text-related, way. The text–image related feature in the Christological group also makes clear that such a reference is only indirectly detectable, which is less the case with most of the subsequent secular images. This can also be said of *Hirðskrá*, which provides an image reference only found later on in the text. The subsequent initial at the start of *Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar* again seems to follow the pattern of a text–image reference that is recognizable in the directly introduced text. In compari-

166 Such drollery, or grotesque figures, often combine various human and animal forms. These hybrid figures often have no direct relationship to the text, but they can inherit a thematic connection to the subject of the text, or a commonly understood meaning from other texts such as bestiaries or sections of the *Physiologus*.

167 Sigurður Líndal, 'The Law Codes of Skarðsbók', p. 62, with further references.

168 Drechsler, 'Zur Ikonographie der AM 350 fol.', p. 100.

169 The second example is found in manuscript SÁM, AM 168 b 4to on f. 1$^{r1–5}$, depicting the Baptism of Christ. Accordingly, it also refers to the original quote from Matthew 28. 1 and provides a second example of the importance of baptism for the introduced text *Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar* — and Christian West Norse society.

son with the main bulk of manuscripts that contain *Jónsbók* from 1350, the 'Helgafell Master' used models in Skarðsbók that are partly known from codices related to the Helgafell network, such as SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to and SÁM, AM 168 a 4to. Nevertheless, in terms of its execution, GKS 3269 b 4to greatly differs from Skarðsbók.[170] For instance, the figures in the initial in Skarðsbók are elegant and slender, whilst in GKS 3269 b 4to they are executed with a cramped and static expression. The same applies to AM 168 a 4to, which offers less detail in the initials. Apart from the advanced use of iconographic models known from these earlier manuscripts, the 'Helgafell Master' also made use of a few otherwise unknown iconographic images in Skarðsbók, such as the ape-like faces in *Þjófabálkr*. In the secular images found in the *Jónsbók* section, the various text–image relationships in Skarðsbók show a direct connection to the introduced text. As discussed, several of them refer to the introductory sentences and depict these directly. Thus, in comparison to other manuscripts that feature a redaction of *Jónsbók*, Skarðsbók generally provides more details on the text–image references. In secular scenes, images from other manuscripts are generally available as potential iconographic references.

In stylistic terms, the 'Helgafell Master' seems to have used several ornamental models known from the two law manuscripts belonging to the *Skálholtsannáll hinn forni* group, SÁM, GKS 3268 4to and SÁM, GKS 3270 4to. As for the textual content, the most important model for Skarðsbók remains SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), though, at the same time, Svalbarðsbók has not been used as an iconographic model for Skarðsbók. In terms of the Romanesque ornamentation of GKS 3268 4to and GKS 3270 4to, Svalbarðsbók is still related and suggests that the illuminator did indeed use related ornamental patterns. Considering stylistic influences, the ornamentation of Skarðsbók appears to be more closely related to GKS 3270 4to than to GKS 3268 4to. Since the 'Helgafell Master' might have used a similar iconographic model to what was used in GKS 3270 4to, this is not surprising and is perhaps best explained through personal contacts.

Skarðsbók, summarized, shows several crucial iconographic and stylistic references to GKS 3269 b 4to, GKS 3270 4to, GKS 3268 4to, and AM 168 a 4to. Apart from one shared iconographic image, no references can be drawn to manuscripts that were produced at around the same time in Þingeyrar, which seems to have been the most important workshop for manuscript production and hagiographic writing in Hólar, the northern diocese of Iceland, in the fourteenth century.[171]

Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol.

DAM, AM 226 fol. is, together with SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), the most magnificent and complex illuminated manuscript from the Helgafell group. This is mainly due to the textual content, as it contains not only a unique, complete version of *Stjórn*, a collection of Old Norse translations of parts of the Old Testament, but also specific redactions of the pseudo-historical translations *Alexanders saga*, *Rómverja saga* and *Gyðinga saga*.[172] AM 226 fol. is a large book approximately 377 × 290 mm in size, with 158 leaves written in two columns of 47–48 lines. The codex is the outcome of three production units, two of which are connected: in *c.* 1350–60, the last part of *Stjórn*, together with the three following sagas on ff. 70^{ra}–158^{rb}, were written by H Hel 1 with a short insertion on f. $117^{rb1–8}$ of the otherwise unknown scribe H Hel 4.[173] In the following decade, the first part of *Stjórn* on f. 1^{ra}–61^{vb} was written by H Hel 1,[174] and the book painting added by the illuminator (and scribe) Magnús Þórhallsson. Finally, in the second half of the fifteenth century, the second part of *Stjórn* on ff. 62^{va}–69^{vb} was written by an otherwise unknown scribe.[175] Nevertheless, after the second production unit was finished in *c.* 1370, little is known about the provenance of AM 226 fol. until the late sixteenth century.[176] The codex is in good shape, as only two leaves are missing.[177] During restoration in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, the manu-

170 *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Jónsbók*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 13.

171 Sverrir Tómasson, 'Norðlenski Benediktínaskólinn'; Sverrir Tómasson, 'Trúarbókmenntir'; Sverrir Tómasson, 'Íslenskar Nikulás Sögur'; Johansson, 'Texter i rörelse'; and Johansson, 'Bergr Sokkason och Arngrímur Brandsson'.

172 For the redactions of the texts featured in AM 226 fol., see *Gyðinga saga*, ed. by Wolf, pp. xv–xxxiii; Würth, *Der 'Antiken-roman'*; *Stjórn*, ed. by Astås, I, pp. xxxviii–xli; *Rómverjasaga*, ed. by Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, pp. xxxvi–xlvii.

173 *Gyðinga saga*, ed. by Wolf, p. xvii; *Rómverjasaga*, ed. by Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, pp. xlv–xlvi.

174 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.

175 Kirby, *Bible Translation*, p. 56. Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Jónar tveir Þorlákssynir', has suggested that the later hand on ff. 62–69 originates from the same scribal school as the late fifteenth-century writer Jón Þorláksson from Skarð á Skarðströnd. For this, see also Stefán Karlsson, 'Sex skriffingur', and Chapter 5.

176 For the provenance of AM 226 fol., see Kålund, *Katalog*, I, p. 183, and *Gyðinga saga*, ed. by Wolf, pp. xviii–xix.

177 The missing leaves were initially located between ff. 98–99 and ff. 99–100.

Table 13. Gatherings, textual division, and dating of AM 226 fol. Underlined sections indicate leaves that belong to the earliest part (*c.* 1350–60), while sections indicated in bold belong to the later part (*c.* 1450–1500).

Gathering	Folios	Division of Sewn Folios	Text	Text Length
1 (8 leaves)	Ff. 1–8	Ff. 1, 2, 3 + 6, 4 + 5, 7, 8	*Stjórn*	Ff. 1^{va}–110^{ra1}
2 (8 leaves)	Ff. 9–16	Ff. 9 + 16, 10 + 15, 11 + 14, 12 + 13		
3 (8 leaves)	Ff. 17–24	Ff. 17 + 24, 18 + 23, 19 + 22, 20 + 21		
4 (8 leaves)	Ff. 25–32	Ff. 25 + 32, 26 + 31, 27 + 30, 28 + 29		
5 (8 leaves)	Ff. 33–40	Ff. 33 + 40, 34 + 39, 35 + 38, 36 + 37		
6 (8 leaves)	Ff. 41–48	Ff. 41 + 48, 42 + 47, 43 + 46, 44 + 45		
7 (8 leaves)	Ff. 49–56	Ff. 49 + 56, 50 + 55, 51 + 54, 52 + 53		
8 (8 leaves)	Ff. 57–64	Ff. 57 + **64**, 58 + **63**, 59 + **62**, 60 + 61		
9 (8 leaves)	Ff. 65–72	Ff. **65** + 72, **66** + 71, **67** + 70, **68** + **69**		
10 (8 leaves)	Ff. 73–80	Ff. 73 + 80, 74 + 79, 75 + 78, 76 + 77		
11 (8 leaves)	Ff. 81–88	Ff. 81 + 88, 82 + 87, 83 + 86, 84 + 85		
12 (8 leaves)	Ff. 89–96	Ff. 89 + 96, 90 + 95, 91 + 94, 92 + 93		
13 (6 leaves)	Ff. 97–102	Ff. 97 + 102, 98 + 101, 99 + 100		
14 (8 leaves)	Ff. 103–10	Ff. 103 + 110, 104 + 109, 105 + 108, 106 + 107		
15 (8 leaves)	Ff. 111–18	Ff. 111 + 118, 112 + 117, 113 + 116, 114 + 115	*Rómverja saga*	Ff. 110^{ra2}–129^{ra31}
16 (8 leaves)	Ff. 119–26	Ff. 119 + 126, 120 + 125, 121 + 124, 122 + 123		
17 (8 leaves)	Ff. 127–34	Ff. 127 + 134, 128 + 133, 129 + 132, 130 + 131		
18 (8 leaves)	Ff. 135–42	Ff. 135 + 142, 136 + 141, 137 + 140 + 138 + 139	*Alexanders saga*	Ff. 129^{ra31}–146^{vb27}
19 (8 leaves)	Ff. 143–50	Ff. 143 + 150, 144 + 149, 145 + 148, 146 + 147		
20 (8 leaves)	Ff. 151–58	Ff. 151 + 158, 152 + 157, 153 + 156, 154 + 155	*Gyðinga saga*	Ff. 146^{vb28}–158^{rb}

script was trimmed and several illuminations were removed. Furthermore, after the later sections were added, all present leaves were sewn together, making it impossible today to distinguish the individual gatherings with certainty. The sewing and suggested gatherings are given in Table 13.[178]

The content of AM 226 fol. suggests that a similar holistic approach to multiple texts was planned to that presented for the previous manuscript written by H Hel 1, Skarðsbók: a vast extension of vernacular text compilations in order to combine even further related literature in one codex. Thus, uniquely among medieval Scandinavian manuscripts, AM 226 fol. includes a complete account of the history of the world from Genesis until the beginning of the New Testament.[179] The main text is undoubtedly *Stjórn*, which has been traditionally divided into three parts, most of which date to the middle of the thirteenth century.[180] In AM 226 fol., these sections have been divided into the three different time periods already indicated above (Table 14).

Table 14. Dating of *Stjórn*-sections in AM 226 fol.

Length	Text	Scribe(s)	Date of section	Date of text
Ff. 1^{ra}–61^{vb}	*Stjórn* I	H Hel 1	*c.* 1360–70[a]	*c.* 1250[b]
Ff. 62^{va}–69^{vb}	*Stjórn* II	Unknown scribe	*c.* 1450–1500[c]	*c.* 1225[d]
Ff. 70^{ra}–110^{ra1}	*Stjórn* III	H Hel 1; H Hel 5	*c.* 1350–60[e]	*c.* 1262–64[f]

[a] *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
[b] Kirby, *Bible Translation*, p. 53.
[c] Kirby, *Bible Translation*, p. 56.
[d] Hofmann, 'Die Königsspiegel-Zitate in der Stjórn', p. 14.
[e] *Gyðinga saga*, ed. by Wolf, p. xvii.
[f] Kirby, *Bible Translation*, pp. 57–58.

The following three texts in AM 226 fol. are generally older than *Stjórn* and belong to a different vernacular genre, the pseudohistorical sagas. The first, *Rómverja saga*, on ff. 110^{ra}–129^{ra}, has been dated to *c.* 1180,[181] and was possibly translated in the north of

178 I would like to thank Mette Jakobsen and Natasha Fazlic for their kind assistance in collecting the data presented on AM 226 fol.
179 For the texts of AM 226 fol., see *Gyðinga saga*, ed. by Wolf; *Stjórn*, ed. by Astås, I, pp. xl–xli; *Rómverjasaga*, ed. by Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, pp. xxxvi–xlix.
180 *Stjórn*, ed. by Astås, I, pp. xviii–xxxiii.
181 Hofmann, 'Accessus ad Lucanum', p. 134.

Iceland, at the Benedictine monastery at Þingeyrar. The redaction of the saga in AM 226 fol. is much shorter than the original and possibly not older than *c.* 1300. The same applies to the penultimate text in AM 226 fol., *Alexanders saga*, which is also shorter than previous redactions.[182] *Rómverja saga* incorporates Old Norse translations of *Bellum Jugurthinum* and *Conjuratio Catilinae* by Sallust and also contains a paraphrased version of *Pharsalia* by Lucan with additional commentary.[183] In *Rómverja saga*, all three works were combined into a single text, which at a later stage was shortened into the second version known from AM 226 fol.[184] *Alexanders saga* follows this and is a translated version of Galterus de Castellione's *Alexandreis* with additional commentary. It has been dated to *c.* 1262–64 and was possibly translated at the Norwegian court by the bishop of Hólar, Brandr Jónsson (d. 1264),[185] aided by an otherwise unknown author.[186] Brandr has also been suggested as the author of *Stjórn* III, as well as of the final text, *Gyðinga saga*, translated in *c.* 1262–64.[187] On f. 158$^{rb36–41}$ in AM 226 fol., *Gyðinga saga* even mentions Brandr Jónsson as its author in the final lines.[188] In line with *Rómverja saga*, the shortened version of *Gyðinga saga* in AM 226 fol. is possibly no older than *c.* 1300.[189]

Unfortunately, no textual model for any of these texts is known from other manuscripts or fragments from fourteenth-century Iceland, or earlier. Nevertheless, all four texts in AM 226 fol. stem from a long practice of translation carried out in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, either at the Norwegian court, or at the northern Icelandic diocese of Hólar, directly at or in the vicinity of Þingeyrar. By the time AM 226 fol. was written, the three sagas were shortened and recompiled, which fits in well with the overall textual structure of the manuscript, since they concentrate on historical aspects of the contents and not on any salvation-historical embedding of them. Hence, the texts in AM 226 fol. do not represent new interpretations of the texts but strengthen the same tendencies that are already found in their exemplars,[190] likely to be used for training purposes.[191] This educational character is also visible in the book painting of the manuscript.

Magnús Þórhallsson, Illuminator of AM 226 fol.

All illuminations in AM 226 fol. are the sole work of Magnús Þórhallsson, a professional book painter and scribe who illuminated manuscripts in *c.* 1370–94. Little is known about the life of Magnús, apart from the fact that he appears as a witness to two purchases of land by the convent at Hrísár, just south of Helgafell on 2 April 1397, where he is referred to as a priest.[192] Since he is mentioned second after Abbot Þorsteinn Snorrason of Helgafell (d. 1403), Magnús might have been next in rank at the Augustinian house of canons regular.[193] Apart from AM 226 fol., Magnús illuminated the whole of the famous kings' saga manuscript SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók) and wrote the second half of that codex, as well as all rubrics in 1388–94.[194] On f. 1^{v} in Flateyjarbók, Magnús mentions the scribes, the commissioner of the manuscript, as well as himself as the illuminator of the codex:

> Þessa bok æ Jonn Hakonarsun. […] he*fer* skrifat jon*n* p*re*str | þordar son f*ra* eíreki víjdforla *ok* olæfs sogurnar bædar. en*n* magn*us* | p*re*str thorhallz sun he*fer* skrífat vpp þa*ð*an *ok* sua þ*at* e*r* fyrr e*r* skrifat. | *ok* lyst alla.
>
> [Jón Hákonarson owns this book. […] The priest Jón Þorðarson wrote about Eiríkr *viðfǫrla* and both Óláfs sagas. And [the] priest Magnús Þórhallsson has written everything afterwards and all that is written before. And illuminated everything.]

182 Würth, *Der 'Antikenroman'*, p. 145.
183 Würth, *Der 'Antikenroman'*, pp. 13–37; *Rómverjasaga*, ed. by Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, p. xiii.
184 Würth, *Der 'Antikenroman'*, p. 24. Unlike the older version in the manuscript DAM, AM 595 a–b 4to from Þingeyrar, the version in AM 226 fol. is independent. Due to a number of textual references given to *Rómverja saga* in the kings' saga *Sverris saga*, it is likely that they were altogether originally compiled at Þingeyrar prior to the stated kings' saga, probably in *c.* 1180. See *Sverris saga*, ed. by Þorleifur Hauksson, p. lxiii.
185 For the origin of *Rómverja saga*, see Widding, 'En forbindelse imellem Sverris saga (AM 81a, fol.) og Hectors saga' and Hallberg, 'Några språkdrag i Alexanders saga och Gyðinga saga'.
186 *Rómverjasaga*, ed. by Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, pp. cxcvi–cxcvii. On the transmission of *Alexandreis* to medieval Scandinavia, see Würth, *Der 'Antikenroman'*, pp. 107–17.
187 Hofmann, 'Die Königsspiegel-Zitate in der Stjórn', p. 36; Bagge, 'Forholdet mellom Kongespeilet og Stjórn', pp. 168–70; Würth, *Der 'Antikenroman'*, p. 99. It remains unclear if Brandr Jónsson was the sole author, or only the translator of *Gyðinga saga*.
188 Wolf, 'Brandr Jónsson and Stjórn', p. 185.
189 *Gyðinga saga*, ed. by Wolf, p. lxvii.
190 Würth, *Der 'Antikenroman'*, p. 147.
191 *Rómverjasaga*, ed. by Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, p. cc.
192 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, VI, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 32–34; see also *Flateyjarbók*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal, I, p. xi.
193 Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók*, p. 17.
194 Only a minor contribution on f. 2$^{rb34–39}$ in GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók) was made by the untrained hand H Hel 6. See Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Á afmæli Flateyjarbókar', p. 58. On the dating of the manuscript, see Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'The Speed of the Scribes', pp. 213–18.

Figure 44. '*Ex libris*', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), f. 3$^{vb1–5}$. 1387–94. Picture from https://handrit.is.

The first historiated initial of Flateyjarbók is found in *Hversu Noregr byggðist* on f. 3$^{vb1–5}$, one of the first texts featured in the codex. It depicts a figure standing before a lectern with an open manuscript in which the first sentence of the prologue is referred to: 'ion hak*onarson* | æ mi[k]' (Jón Hákonarson owns me), which makes the illumination a form of *ex libris* of its commissioner and first owner (Figure 44).[195]

It remains unclear whether the illumination depicts Jón Hákonarson or Magnús Þórhallsson.[196] As the prologue indicates, the first part of Flateyjarbók was written by the scribe Jón Þórðarson, together with two rather unexperienced minor hands.[197] In 1388, one year after the production was started, Jón most likely left for Norway to work at *Krosskirkja* (Holy Cross Church), most likely the parish church of Bergen, only to return to Iceland after the manuscript was almost finished.[198] Likely in 1388,[199] Magnús wrote most of the second part, with a short addition of a minor hand, H Hel 6. Altogether, Flateyjarbók was written and illuminated in 1387–94,[200] and contains a rather luxurious book painting featuring a multitude of small and mid-sized initials with Romanesque ornamentation and nine large Gothic-styled historiated major initials. Previous to Flateyjarbók, Magnús illuminated AM 226 fol. in *c.* 1370.[201] The two manuscripts thus represent the start and end of his artistic activity.

Magnús was also active as a scribe at roughly the same time in the second half of the fourteenth century and contributed texts to several manuscripts and fragments, not only from Helgafell, but also from two scriptoria in northern Iceland:[202] Munkaþverá, a Benedictine convent at Eyjafjörður, and possibly the secular workshop at Víðidalstunga, which is situated near to Þingeyrar at Skagafjörður. Some stylistic resemblances in the Romanesque ornamentation of Magnús's works stem from two law manuscripts, that had a number of stylistic similarities with Skarðsbók, GKS 3268 4to and GKS 3270 4to (both SÁM). Accordingly, it is likely that Magnús also had contact with the same workshop at which the 'Helgafell Master' worked before he came to Helgafell.

Apart from AM 226 fol. and Flateyjarbók, Magnús may also have been responsible for the outlines of four unfinished initials in SÁM, AM 139 4to, a law

195 Heslop and Glauser, 'Introduction', pp. 38–40.

196 Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók*, p. 378, suggests a depiction of Magnús. For this, see also Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', pp. 226–27. On the other hand, Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Á afmæli Flateyjarbókar', p. 56, and Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Hvernig litu íslenskir miðaldamenn út?', p. 30, suggest a depiction of Jón Hákonarson.

197 *Færeyinga saga*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, pp. xxiii–xxiv; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'The Speed of the Scribes', pp. 199–200.

198 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. xxxiv and p. 424.

199 Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'The Speed of the Scribes', pp. 213–18.

200 Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu', pp. 298–99.

201 The literature on the stylistic aspects of GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók) and AM 226 fol. is extensive. Notable contributions are Matthías Þórðarson, 'Islands middelalderkunst', p. 340; *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 18; Selma Jónsdóttir, *Lýsingar í Stjórnarhandriti*, p. 14; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', pp. 25–26; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Lýsingar í íslenskum handritum', p. 96; Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók*, pp. 352–60; Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 75–94; and Liepe, 'Image, Script and Ornamentation', pp. 249–55. The historiated content of the book painting has been studied by DuBois, 'A History Seen'; Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók*, pp. 360–84; Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen'; and Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Ormur ber heyið eða …'.

202 On the script and orthography of Magnús Þórhallsson, see Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu', pp. 291–97.

Table 15. The Munkaþverá manuscripts

Shelf Mark and Name	Collection	Number of Folios	Hands (H)	Illuminators (A)	Main Content	Date	Columns	Lines	Size (max.)
AM 66 fol. (Hulda)	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	141	H Mun 1 (ff. 2^{r}–141^{v}); Magnús Þórhallsson (f. $51^{v32–33}$)	None	*Heimskringla*	1350–75[203]	1	33	269 × 185 mm
AM 238 XXV fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	3	H Mun 1 (ff. 1^{r}–3^{v})		*Æfintýri*	1350–75[204]	Unknown	Unknown	227 × 145 mm
AM 646 4to	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	36	H Mun 1 (ff. 1^{v}–36^{v})	Otherwise unknown (f. 2^{r})	*Andrésss saga postula*	1350–75[205]	1	20	190 × 135 mm
AM 173 d A 8 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	6	H Mun 1 (ff. 1^{r}–6^{v})	None	*Jónsbók*	1350–75[206]	Unknown	Unknown	210 × 147 mm
AM Dipl. Isl. Fasc. III, 5	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	1	H Mun 1 (f. $1^{r–v}$)		Charter	25.3.1375[207]	1	Unknown	Unknown
AM Dipl. Isl. Fasc. III, 6	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	1	H Mun 1 (f. $1^{r–v}$)		Charter	19.5.1375[208]	1	Unknown	Unknown

codex dated to *c.* 1400.[209] In AM 139 4to, he acted as the sole scribe, and since the main text is a very close copy of the *Jónsbók* text of Skarðsbók,[210] it is arguable that the codex is also a product of the Helgafell scriptorium.[211] Apart from AM 139 4to, Magnús was responsible as a scribe for several manuscripts and fragments dated to the second half of the fourteenth century. The earliest evidence of his scribal activity is found on f. $51^{v32–33}$ in the kings' saga codex DAM, AM 66 fol. (Hulda). That manuscript has been dated to *c.* 1350–75 and has been linked to a group of manuscripts from northern Iceland.[212] A likely candidate for its place of production has been suggested to be the Benedictine monastery at Munkaþverá at Eyjafjörður, as the two charters from the group originate from the convent and one features its chapter seal.[213] Apart from the short contribution to Hulda, made by Magnús, these four manuscripts and two charters were written by a single scribe, H Mun 1 (Table 15).[214]

Otherwise no personal, textual, or artistic connection between Magnús and Munkaþverá can be established. In addition to Hulda, Flateyjarbók, and AM 139 4to, Magnús wrote the texts of two other manuscripts and fragments in *c.* 1390–1400:[215] the previously mentioned, now-lost *Íslendingasögur* manuscript *Vatnshyrna and the unilluminated *Grega saga* fragment DAM, AM 567 XXVI 4to, a saga which itself is otherwise unknown. Magnús's œuvre is thus outlined in Table 16.

Little is known about Magnús's profession, but his earliest scribal activity suggests that he might have been from Munkaþverá and was initially a Benedictine monk in *c.* 1350 when the production of Hulda was started. Shortly after, in *c.* 1370, he joined the convent at Helgafell, became an Augustinian priest and started to work on the illuminations of AM 226 fol. at Helgafell. It was possibly at the same institution that Magnús was educated as an illuminator and wrote most of his subsequent manuscripts.[216]

203 *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, p. 14.
204 *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, pp. 8 and 14.
205 *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, pp. 8 and 14.
206 *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, pp. 8 and 14.
207 *Islandske Originaldiplomer indtil 1450*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 54.
208 *Islandske Originaldiplomer indtil 1450*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 55.
209 Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu', pp. 287–88.
210 *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xlv.
211 Drechsler, 'The Illuminated Þjófabálkr', p. 13.
212 *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, pp. 8 and 14.
213 Drechsler, 'Reynistaðakirkja hin forna', pp. 30–31.
214 *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, pp. 8–10; *Islandske Originaldiplomer indtil 1450*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 54–56.
215 Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu', pp. 298–99.
216 Previously, Matthías Þórðarson, 'Islands middelalderkunst', p. 340, has suggested that Magnús Þórhallsson also illuminated the two law manuscripts SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók) and SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók). In addition, Selma Jónsdóttir, 'Gjafamynd í íslenzku handriti', p. 14, has argued that Magnús was responsible for SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), DAM, AM 233 a fol., and KB, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5. None of these claims were accepted by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', pp. 24–25, and Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 120–21.

Table 16. Manuscripts written and/or illuminated by Magnús Þórhallsson

Shelf Mark and Name	Collection	Number of Folios	Hands (H)	Illuminators (A)	Main Content	Date	Cols	Lines	Size (max.)
AM 66 fol. (Hulda)	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	141	H Mun 1 (ff. 2^{r}–141^{v}); Magnús Þórhallsson (f. $51^{v32–33}$)	None	*Heimskringla*	1350–75[217]	1	33	269 × 185 mm
AM 226 fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	61	H Hel 1 (ff. 1^{ra}–61^{vb})	Magnús Þórhallsson (ff. 1^{ra}–61^{vb})	*Stjórn* I	1360–70[218]	2	47–48	377 × 290 mm
		8	Unknown (ff. 62^{va}–69^{vb})	None	*Stjórn* II	1450–1500[219]		47	
		89	H Hel 1 (ff. 70^{ra}–158^{rb}), H Hel 4 (f. $117^{rb1–8}$)	Magnús Þórhallsson (ff. 70^{ra}–158^{rb})	*Stjórn* III, *Rómverja saga*, Alexanders saga, *Gyðinga saga*	1350–60[220]		47–48	
GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	202	Jón Þórðarson (ff. 4^{va}– 27^{v}, f. $27^{va60–vb9}$, ff. 27^{vb17}–36^{vb41}, ff. 36^{vb45}–108^{rb26}, ff. 108^{r29}–110^{rb13}, f. $110^{rb22–vb22}$, ff. 110^{vb31}–111^{ra6}, f. $111^{ra17–rb28}$, ff. 111^{ra36}–134^{va60}), H Við 1 (f. $108^{rb7–28}$), H Við 2 (f. $110^{rb13–22}$, f. $110^{vb22–31}$, f. $111^{ra6–17}$, f. $111^{rb29–36}$), Magnús Þórhallsson (ff. 1^{r}–4^{rb}, f. $27^{va59–60}$, f. $27^{vb9–17}$, f. $36^{vb41–44}$, ff. 134^{va61}–187^{vb}, ff. 211^{ra}–225^{va}), H Hel 6 (f. $2^{rb34–39}$)	Magnús Þórhallsson (ff. 1^{r}–187^{vb}, ff. 211^{ra}–225^{va})	*Ólágs saga Tryggvasonar, Óláfs saga helga, Sverris saga, Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*	1387–94[221]	2	60	420 × 290 mm
		23	Hand A (ff. 188^{ra}–195^{rb13}, f. $195^{rb18–vb17}$, ff. 195^{vb23}–197^{ra8}, f. $197^{ra13–va54}$, ff. 197^{vb}–198^{vb43}, f. $198^{va48–vb60}$, f. $199^{ra–va8}$, f. $199^{va18–vb6}$, ff. 199^{vb11}–200^{ra3}, f. $200^{ra7–64}$, f. $200^{rb–va52}$, ff. 200^{va58}–203^{vb55}, f. $204^{ra4–8}$, f. $204^{r56–64}$), Hand B (f. $198^{va44–47}$, f. $199^{va9–17}$, f. $199^{vb7–10}$, f. $200^{ra65–70}$, f. $204^{ra9–55}$, f. $204^{ra65–rb15}$, f. $204^{rb18–71}$, f. $204^{va1–26}$, f. $204^{va29–32}$, ff. 204^{va38}–205^{ra67}, f. $205^{rb–va40}$, ff. 205^{va45}–207^{va49}, ff. 207^{va53}–208^{vb29}, ff. 208^{vb36}–210^{ra}), Hand C (f. $195^{rb14–17}$), Hand D (f. $195^{vb18–22}$), Hand E (f. $197^{ra9–12}$), Hand F (f. $197^{va54–70}$, f. $198^{vb61–69}$), Hand G (f. $202^{vb53–57}$, f. $203^{vb55–63}$), Hand H (f. $204^{rb16–17}$, f. $204^{rb71–73}$, f. $204^{va32–37}$, f. $205^{ra68–72}$, f. $205^{va40–44}$), Hand I (f. $204^{va26–29}$), Hand J (f. $204v^{a26–29}$)[222]	Otherwise unknown (ff. 188^{ra}–210^{ra})	*Magnús saga góða ok Haralds harðráða*	1450–1500[223]		73	
AM 567 XXVI 4to	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	1	Magnús Þórhallsson (f. $1^{r–v}$)	None	*Grega saga*	1390[224]	2	38	185 × 145 mm
***Vatnshyrna**	Manuscript lost	Unknown	Magnús Þórhallsson	Unknown	*Íslendingasögur*	1391–95[225]	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
AM 139 4to	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	71	Magnús Þórhallsson (ff. 1^{r}–71^{v})	Magnús Þórhallsson (ff. 1^{r}–71^{v})	*Jónsbók*	1400[226]	1	26	235 × 170 mm

217 *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, p. 14.
218 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
219 Kirby, *Bible Translation*, p. 56.
220 *Gyðinga saga*, ed. by Wolf, p. xvii.
221 Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu', pp. 298–99; *Flateyjarbók*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal, I, p. xi.
222 See Louis-Jensen, 'Den yngre del af Flateyjarbók'.
223 Louis-Jensen, 'Den yngre del af Flateyjarbók', p. 65.
224 Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu', p. 287.
225 Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu', pp. 287–88.
226 Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu', pp. 287–88.

Before or after Magnús moved to Helgafell, he was in contact with a secular client in northern Iceland in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. Three manuscripts that were fully, partly, or co-written by him — Hulda, *Vatnshyrna, and Flateyjarbók — have all been suggested to have been produced for the magnate Jón Hákonarson (1350–1416) from Víðidalstunga in northern Iceland.[227] Hulda was likely produced for the family of Jón, since not only is Magnús's hand found in both manuscripts,[228] the codex also contains those sagas about Norwegian royal history that are lacking in Flateyjarbók. Furthermore, in the texts of *Vatnshyrna and Flateyjarbók, entries with genealogies of the families of Jón and his wife Ingileif Árnadóttir are featured. It is likely that when Flateyjarbók was written, Hulda fully served the needs of Jón's family.[229]

Unfortunately, the sites of production of *Vatnshyrna and Flateyjarbók are unknown. Likely candidates were Þingeyrar or Reynistaður,[230] or, as far as the book painting is concerned, also Helgafell.[231] Its production may well have started at Víðidalstunga directly, or at the nearby Benedictine nunnery of Reynistaður at Skagafjörður, since its first scribe, Jón Þórðarson, is known to have been in contact with Reynistaður before he wrote his part in Flateyjarbók. According to a letter dated to 6 November 1383, he paid the abbess of Reynistaður, Oddbjǫrg Jónsdóttir, a large sum of money.[232] The same letter names him as priest and as previous *ráðsmaðr* (manager) of Reynistaður.[233] In addition, although without the title of a priest, Jón is most likely mentioned in three further letters, two from Hólar and one from Víðidalstunga. The first is dated to 15 March 1377, in which a man with the same name is named together with five other witnesses for a purchase of land of Hólar Cathedral.[234] The second is dated to 2 May 1396,[235] after his stay in Bergen mentioned above. That letter consists of a registry of land that belongs to the Hólar diocese. A man with the same name is mentioned as witness in relation to the inventory of several churches, among others Reynistaður.[236] Finally, the third letter mentions a man with the same name on 10 July 1384. In that letter, a Jón Þórðarson is mentioned as one of twelve witnesses at a verdict issued by a judge in the name of Jón Hákonarson at Víðidalstunga.[237] Jón Þórðarson seemed to have been in good contact with the wider Þingeyrar circle, as his textual models for *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* and the following *Óláfs saga helga* in Flateyjarbók were taken from (partly lost) manuscripts connected either to Þingeyrar or nearby.[238] On the other hand, Jón seems not to have been in contact with Helgafell, since his orthography is not related to scribes from that monastery,[239] nor do any Helgafell manuscripts display his hand. It is very likely that by the summer of 1388, Jón Þórðarson had finished his part. Considering these personal relations of Jón to northern Iceland, it may be concluded that the unfinished manuscript was possibly not transferred to Helgafell after Jón completed its first production unit in 1388. In the following years, Magnús wrote the second part, illuminated the whole codex, and evidently worked with a different ideological pattern.[240] Nevertheless, both scribes seemed to have known each other, since a few scribal correlations of the two hands appear in Jón Þórðarson's part of Flateyjarbók.[241]

From *Flateyjarbókarannáll*, found at ff. 213–25 of the codex and written in 1390–94 by Magnús, it is likely that he also worked on his texts in northern Iceland, as the annals contain a good deal of information about Jón Hákonarson and his family. Furthermore, *Flateyjarbókarannáll* draws heavily on the so-called *Lǫgmannsannáll*, which was writ-

227 *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, pp. 8–9.
228 *Hulda*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, p. 15; *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, pp. 8–9.
229 *Flateyjarbok*, ed. by Guðbrandur Vigfússon, p. x; *Flateyjarbók*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal, I, pp. viii–ix.
230 Sigurður Nordal has suggested that only Þingeyrar provided the size of library needed for the massive textual collection of Flateyjarbók. See *Flateyjarbók*, ed. by Sigurður Nordal, I, pp. viii–ix. Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Á afmæli Flateyjarbókar', pp. 58–59, has supported Sigurður Nordal's theory and counted altogether forty-five exemplars used for the manuscript. Recently, Sverrir Tómasson, 'Review of Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók*', has shown that a middle initial in Flateyjarbók resembles the chapter seal of the convent. For this, see also Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', pp. 225. Sverrir Tómasson's theory was recently questioned by Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Ormur ber heyið eða …'.
231 Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu', p. 288; Liepe, *Studies*, p. 170.
232 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 371–72.
233 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 272.
234 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 315–16.
235 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 606–14.
236 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 611.
237 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 376–78. The latter reference has been questioned by Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Á afmæli Flateyjarbókar', p. 58, since Jón Þórðarson is not mentioned as a priest. But since the same applies also to the two letters related to the Hólar diocese from 1377 and 1396, it is unlikely that a different person is referred to.
238 Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Á afmæli Flateyjarbókar', pp. 58–59; Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók*, p. 36.
239 *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. cxvi.
240 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. xxxiii; Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók*, p. 27; Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'The Speed of the Scribes', pp. 199–205.
241 Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'The Speed of the Scribes', pp. 199–200.

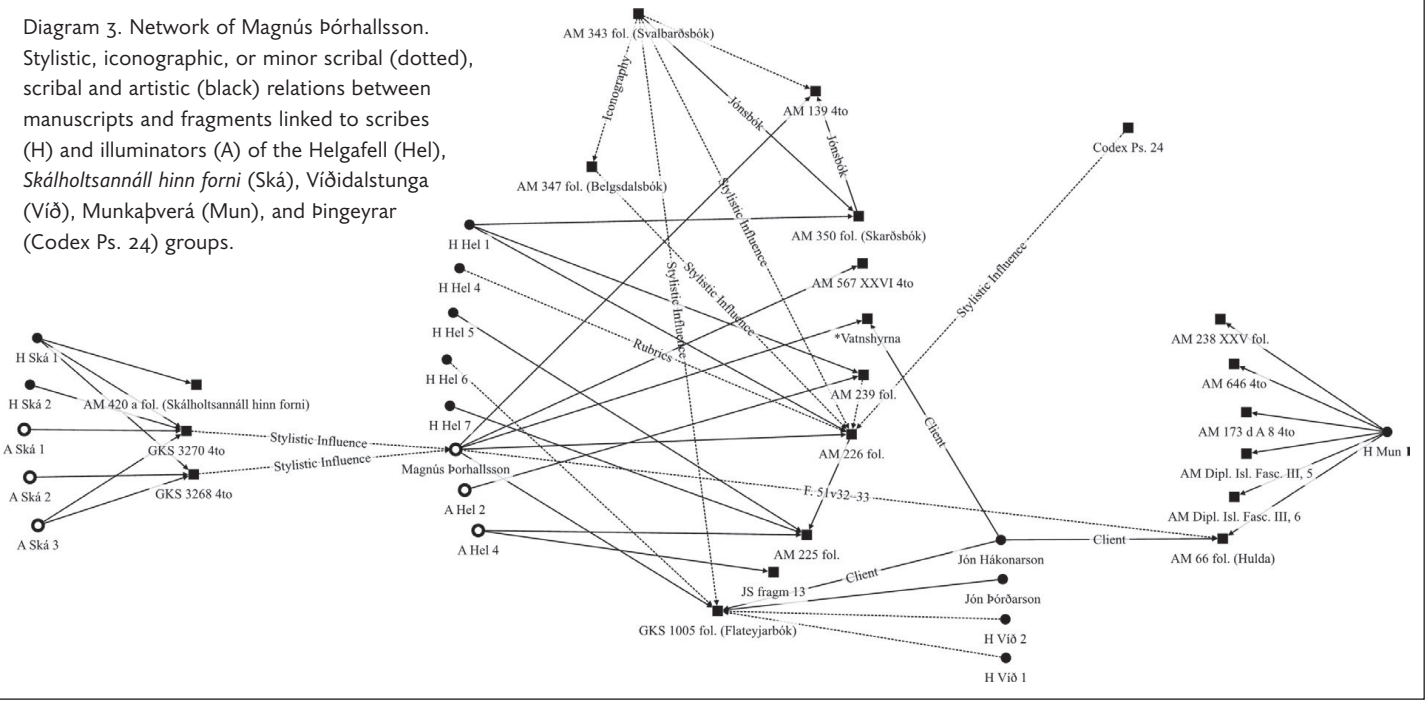


Diagram 3. Network of Magnús Þórhallsson. Stylistic, iconographic, or minor scribal (dotted), scribal and artistic (black) relations between manuscripts and fragments linked to scribes (H) and illuminators (A) of the Helgafell (Hel), *Skálholtsannáll hinn forni* (Ská), Víðidalstunga (Víð), Munkaþverá (Mun), and Þingeyrar (Codex Ps. 24) groups.

ten in northern Iceland in 1362–80 and 1380–90.[242] The first section was compiled and written by the cleric Einarr Hafliðason (1307–93) in the Hólar diocese.[243] Einarr is known to have been a good friend of Jón Hákonarson, and it is obvious that the textual model that Magnús used for his annals originally came either from Jón directly, or from nearby. Magnús thus clearly stayed in contact with northern Iceland in the last decade of the fourteenth century. As will be shown below, his artistic training seems to have been conducted at Helgafell. Due to its external relationships, Flateyjarbók will be treated as a manuscript belonging to the Helgafell network. Nevertheless, the book painting of Flateyjarbók remains both personally and artistically related to the Helgafell codex AM 226 fol. A similar candidate for an external Helgafell manuscript is *Vatnshyrna.[244] The version of *Laxdæla saga* in *Vatnshyrna appears to be unrelated to the section of the same saga H Hel 1 used for the Helgafell fragment DAM, AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi).[245] Thus, different textual models were used. It was at the same time that Magnús wrote SÁM, AM 139 4to and *Vatnshyrna, shortly before 1400, that AM 225 fol. was copied by the scribe H Hel 5,[246] and illuminated by yet another individual, A Hel 4.[247] Both the text and style of the book painting are closely related to AM 226 fol., as will be discussed in Chapter 5. As shown on Diagram 3, similar to the 'Helgafell Master' presented as part of Skarðsbók, the network around Magnús Þórhallsson is complex and wide-ranging.

The Art of Magnús Þórhallsson

When Magnús worked on AM 226 fol. in *c.* 1370, he must have had a formal training in illuminating manuscripts behind him, since the execution of the ornamentation of AM 226 fol. displays a high level of proficiency.[248] Similar to the 'Helgafell Master', the book painting by Magnús shows a wide range of Romanesque ornamentation related to the two law manuscripts belonging to the *Skálholtsannáll hinn forni* group, SÁM, GKS 3268 4to and SÁM, GKS 3270 4to.

242 Stefán Karlsson, pers. comm., 1983.

243 Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók*, pp. 21–22; see also Rohrbach, 'Der Bischofssitz Hólar'.

244 Stefán Karlsson, 'Um Vatnshyrnu', pp. 287–88.

245 *Laxdæla saga*, ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson, pp. lxxvi and lxxviii. For AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi), see elsewhere in this chapter.

246 Tveitane, *Den lærde stil*, p. 14; Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 50.

247 For the textual relationships between AM 225 fol. and AM 226 fol., see *Gyðinga saga*, ed. by Wolf, pp. xxx–xxxiii.

248 For the book painting of AM 226 fol., see Matthías Þórðarson, 'Islands middelalderkunst', p. 340; *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 18; Selma Jónsdóttir, *Lýsingar í Stjórnarhandriti*, pp. 14 and 71; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 26; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Lýsingar í íslenskum handritum', p. 96; Liepe, *Studies*, p. 94; and Liepe, 'Image, Script and Ornamentation', pp. 249–55.

Figure 45. 'Ornamentation and grylli figures', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3268 4to, f. 7$^{v4–8}$. 1350.

Figure 46. 'Ornamentation', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 156$^{ra4–9}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

This is seen in the use of closely related models for the colouring and floral embellishment of dichromatic initials and in the similar use of grylli figures as part of these inhabited initials (Figures 45–46).[249] Not surprisingly, similar grotesque figures also appear in major initials in Flateyjarbók (Figure 47).

The style in AM 226 fol. differs to some extent from that in the law codex GKS 3268 4to, though a related use of similar ornamental models is found in both manuscripts (Figures 48–49). At the same time, the sister manuscript to GKS 3268 4to, GKS 3270 4to, seems to have been a distant model for the use of small depictions of red-painted human heads in AM 226 fol. (Figures 50–51). Similar to the already discussed connection of the 'Helgafell Master' to the workshop at which GKS 3270 4to was illuminated, Magnús Þórhallsson seems not to have worked at the same scriptorium, but to have been educated at Helgafell. There, he made use of ornamental models that might have been used by the 'Helgafell Master'.

This assumption is supported by the occurrence of same ornamental patterns as what is found in the law manuscript SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), which was used as a textual model for Skarðsbók.

Figure 47. 'Grylli figures', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), f. 164$^{ra25–34}$. 1387–94. Picture from https://handrit.is.

This pattern also appears in AM 226 fol. and Flateyjarbók (Figures 52–53, and see Figure 67, below). Magnús not only made use of the same ornamentation, he also adapted an ornamental pattern from SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók) for an initial in AM 139 4to (Figure 54).

249 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 78.

Figure 48. 'Grylli figures', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3268 4to, f. 30$^{r5–8}$. 1350.

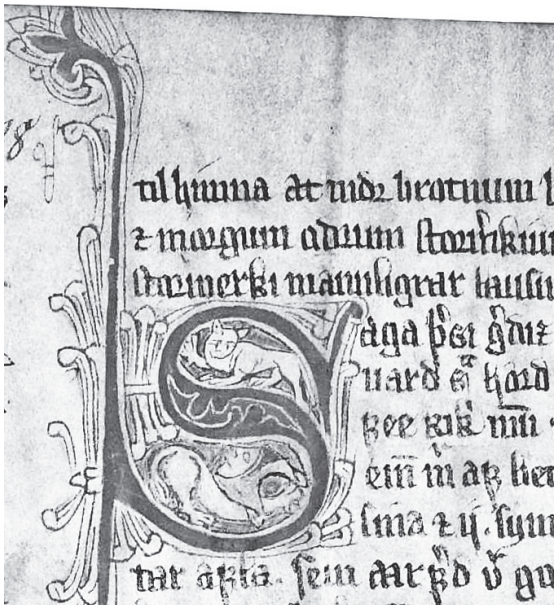


Figure 49. 'Grylli figures', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 78$^{rb4–8}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Figure 50. 'Human head', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3270 4to, f. 3$^{vb16–17}$. 1350.

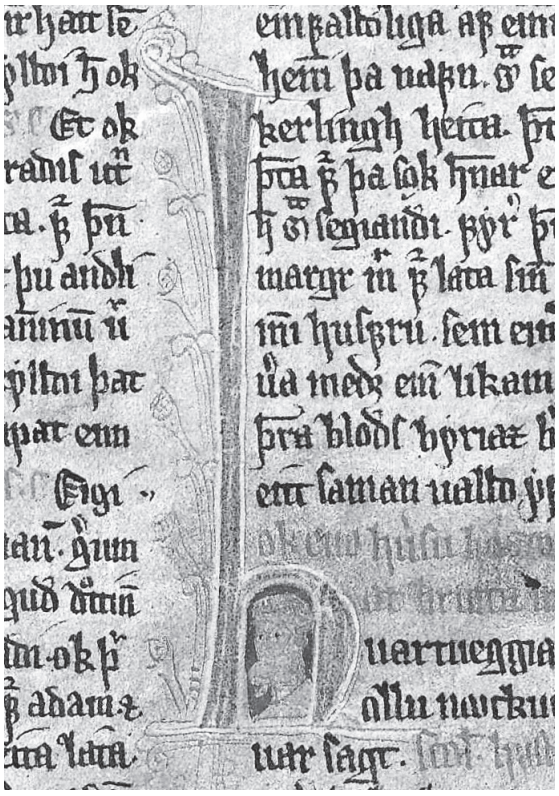


Figure 51. 'Human head', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 7$^{vb40–42}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

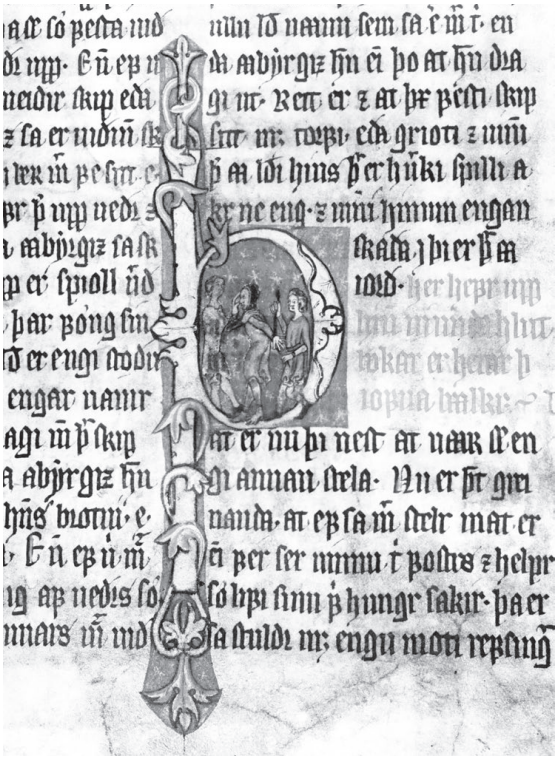


Figure 52. 'Ornamentation and initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), f. 84$^{rb16–20}$. 1340. Picture from https://handrit.is.

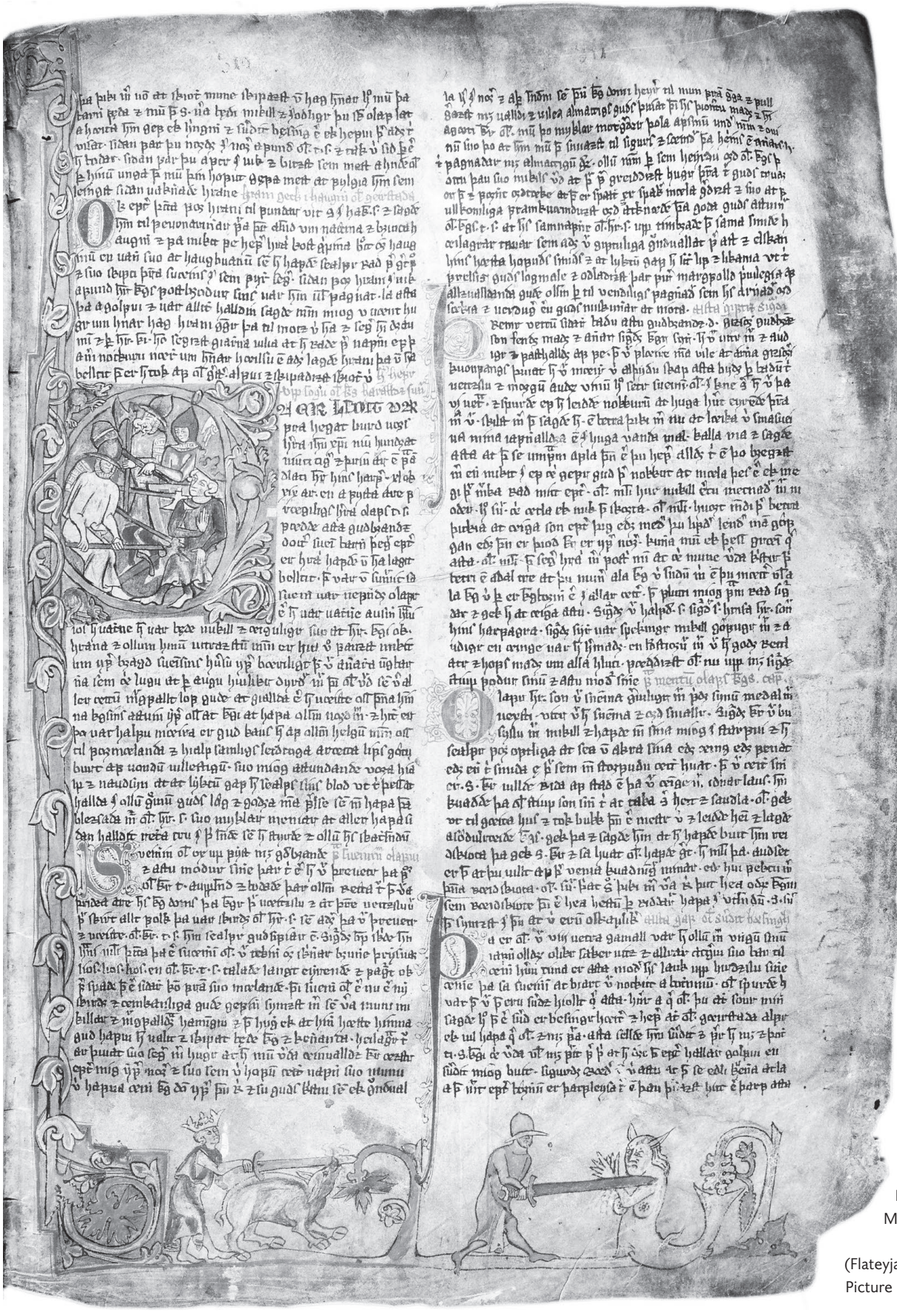


Figure 53.
'Ornamentation',
Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna
Magnússonar í íslenskum
fræðum, GKS 1005 fol.
(Flateyjarbók), f. 79ra. 1387–94.
Picture from https://handrit.is.

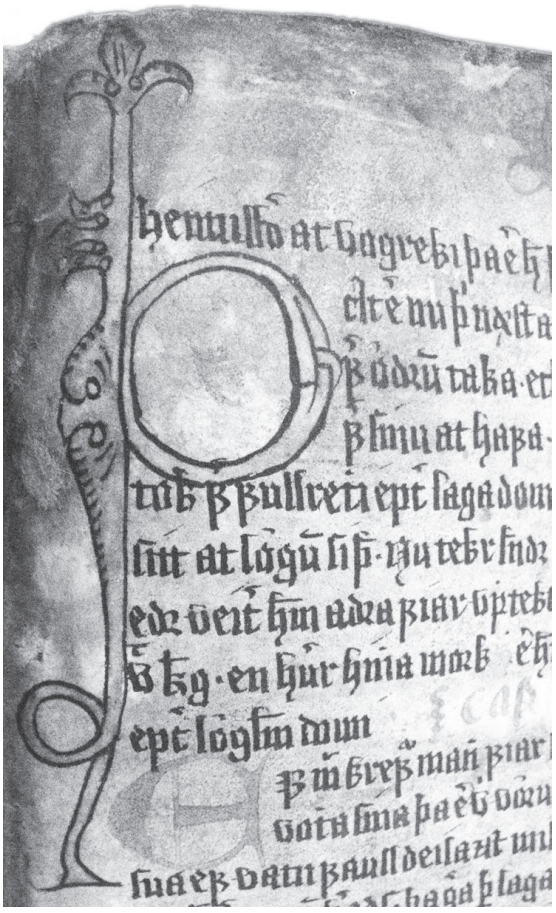


Figure 54. 'Initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 139 4to, f. 55^{r2-4}. 1400. Photo: Stefan Drechsler, reproduced with permission.

At the same time, the law manuscript Belgsdalsbók from the Helgafell network also appears to be linked to AM 226 fol. since it features similar yellow initials and ornamentation as AM 226 fol.[250] Furthermore, these ornamentation forms appear to be similar to those of the Þingeyrar psalter fragment Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Codex Ps. 24, Fr 28003, discussed in relation to Skarðsbók (see Figure 20, above, and Figure 61, below).[251] The colouring of the initial trunks, a common depiction of birds in combination with additions of tree trunks and shoots of large oak leaves on twigs that both these manuscripts include, is clearly inspired by similar models. As with Skarðsbók, these marginal scenes in AM 226 fol. are not connected to the content of the historiated initials. Due to subsequent trimming of the leaves, the upper margins are barely visible today.[252]

In conclusion, the unhistoriated initials of AM 226 fol. follow a standard stylistic pattern and pictorial models known from illuminated manuscripts that contain *Jónsbók*, among other texts, and that were produced by the Helgafell network, such as Svalbarðsbók, Belgsdalsbók, as well as GKS 3268 4to and GKS 3270 4to. By way of comparison, most of the Romanesque ornamental models in GKS 3268 4to and GKS 3270 4to are also used in AM 226 fol. in a more advanced way, notably in multicoloured naturalistic letter embellishments. These additions are explained by the later date of the book painting in AM 226 fol., which is at least twenty years later. Overall, the figural painting in AM 226 fol. is defined by stiff postures with rectangular faces and eyes painted without pupils,[253] traits that are unique for the figural paintings of Magnús Þórhallsson, and his potential pupil A Hel 4, in the *Stjórn* codex DAM, AM 225 fol., as well as the main illuminator of SÁM, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), A Hel 5, to be discussed below. At the same time, the large depiction of hands in AM 226 fol. is particularly expressive and relates loosely to the single main initial in the Helgafell codex SÁM, AM 239 fol. (see Figure 69 and Figure 78, below). Similar to the initial in AM 239 fol., the clothing in AM 226 fol. is executed in a rather simple way, as the figures wear simple mantles and tunics painted in large, often parallel and/or curved broken folds that are marked with black contours.[254] The elaborated figural style in Skarðsbók is not mirrored in AM 226 fol. At the same time, the tendency to change iconographic models so that they fit with the initiated text as in Skarðsbók, or to create entirely new images, is also found in the work of Magnús Þórhallsson.

Overall, the historiated book painting in AM 226 fol. can be classified into two groups: (1) iconographic images of holy people in main initials, and (2) a wide selection of images of animals or humans in minor initials, some of which are possibly related to the textual content. Folio $35^{vb12-14}$ shows a blessing hand, f. 97^{rb7-9} depicts a female face with a headscarf. Further human figures are found on f. $7^{va40-42}$ (see Figure 51, above) and on f. $30^{va28-33}$, which depicts a priest reading from a manuscript on a lectern. Neither of these two latter minor initials have immediate relevance to the text introduced by the initials. AM 226 fol. includes a total of twelve historiated major initials, as well as one that is inhabited. The size, position, and iconography of the major initials are given in Table 17.

250 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 80.

251 Stefán Karlsson, 'Saltarabrot í Svíþjóð með Stjórnarhendi'; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Íslenskt saltarbrot í Svíþjóð?'; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Handritalýsingar', pp. 257–65.

252 In AM 226 fol., marginal scenes are found on f. 1^{v}, f. 70^{r}, f. 81^{v}, f. 110^{r}, and f. 129^{r}.

253 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 78.

254 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 77.

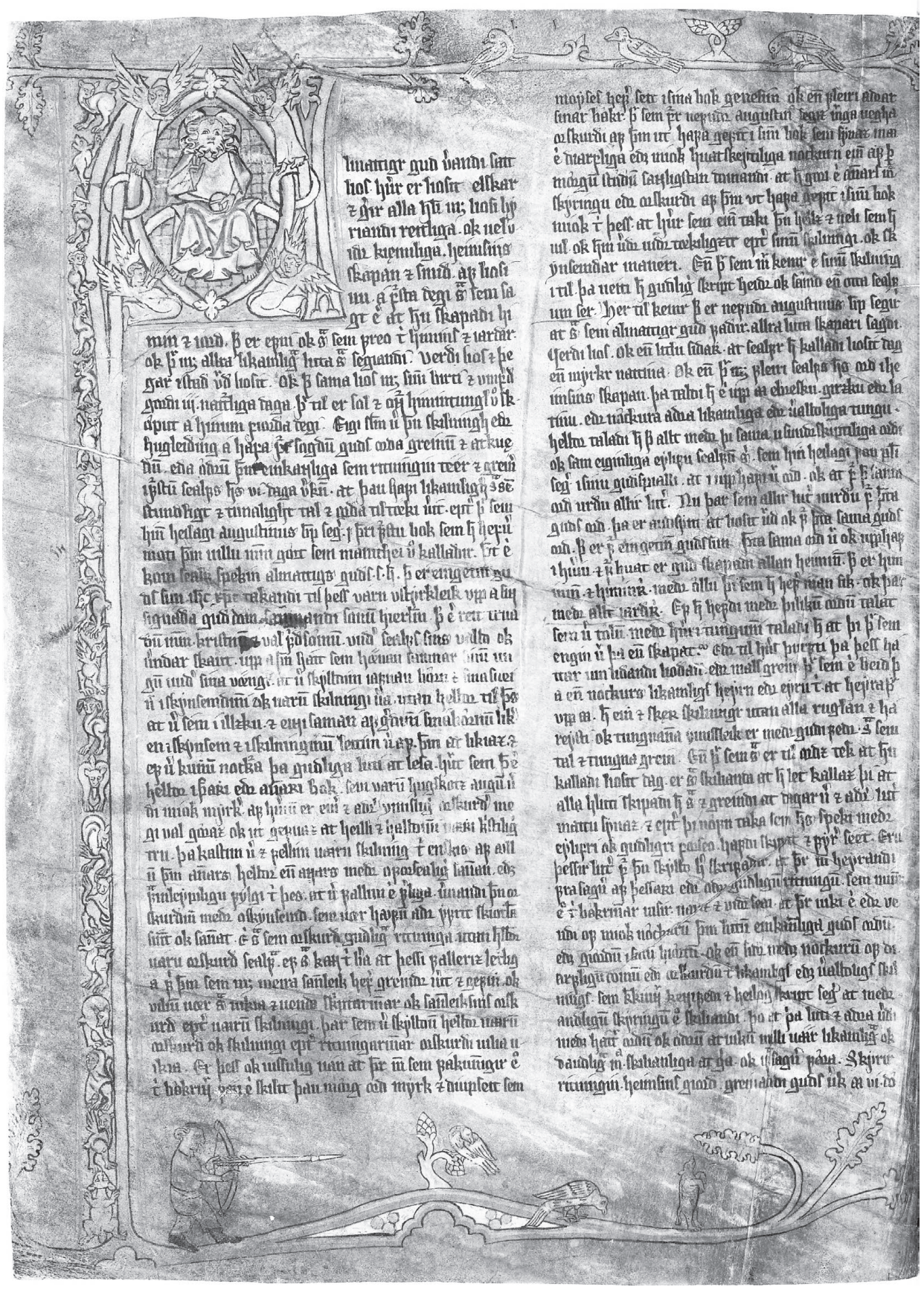


Figure 55. 'God in Majesty', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 1$^{va1–7}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Table 17. Major initials in AM 226 fol.

Size	Letter	Text	Chapter	Iconography
F. 1$^{va1–11}$	A	*Stjórn* I	Prologue	God in Majesty
F. 12$^{rb1–8}$	S		I Gen 6	Noah builds the ark
F. 22$^{rb36–46}$	T		I Gen 11	Abraham and Lot
F. 34$^{va1–8}$	N		I Gen 25	Isaac anoints Jacob
F. 70$^{ra1–8}$	E	*Stjórn* III	I Joshua 1	Yahweh wakes Joshua
F. 72$^{rb13–20}$	[E]		I Judges 1	*Scratched out*
F. 79$^{rb21–29}$	H		I Sam 1	Elkanah or Saul enthroned
F. 81$^{va31–39}$	S		I Sam 10	Samuel anoints Saul
F. 88$^{ra1–9}$	A		II Sam 1	David plays the harp
F. 96$^{va7–14}$	A		I Kings 2	Solomon and Saba
F. 110$^{ra17–25}$	M	*Rómverja saga*		Massinissa and a servant
F. 129$^{ra32–40}$	D	*Alexanders saga*		Darius III enthroned
F. 146$^{vb28–35}$	A	*Gyðinga saga*		*Inhabited*

Figure 56. 'Noah builds the ark', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 12$^{rb1–8}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

As with many medieval illuminated manuscripts containing the Vulgate, AM 226 fol. starts with the iconography of God in Majesty on f. 1$^{va1–11}$ (Figure 55).[255] The initial is extended into the lower margin on the left column. Since the extension of the initial is populated with grylli and other figures, the iconographic programme may be described as a symbolic depiction of the Creation of the world, which is referred to at f. 2$^{rb9–12}$ in the first main chapter of *Stjórn*:

> I upp haþi skapadi gud hímín þ*at* er saelþt himinʀ*iki* huat e*r* | medr sinu*m* englu*m* *ok* himnesku*m* krauptu*m* uar þeg*ar* istat þy | llt sua sem *fyrst* *ok* *fremzt* milli allra þ*ei*rra hluta sem han*n* | skapadi.
>
> [In the beginning God made heaven which is the blessed heavenly kingdom itself which was immediately filled with his angels and heavenly powers which are first and foremost among all those things he created.]

The next initial follows on f. 12$^{rb1–8}$, at the beginning of I Gen 6, and depicts Noah building the ark (Figure 56).[256] On the left part of the initial, he is hunched over a triangular seven-strake wooden structure that has a cut on the upper part, likely indicating that the wooden vessel is unfinished. That the act of building is ongoing is further indicated by the fact that a tree trunk is depicted in the upper margin to the right. Later in the introduced text, the ark is described as being a boat with many levels and compartments, similar to the seven-levelled wooden architecture in the present initial. It is apparent that Magnús wished not only to depict Noah building his ark, but also to provide a visual reference to the textual description of the ark itself. Apart from AM 226 fol., a similar depiction of Noah building the ark is also found in the relevant chapter initial in the tex-

255 *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 18, has suggested that the iconography of f. 1$^{va1–11}$ depicts Christ in Majesty exclusively. This holds true for the iconographic motif itself, but due to the clear focus on the Old Testament in this text, it is unlikely that Christ is meant to be depicted here.

256 *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 18.

Figure 57. 'Noah builds the ark', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 225 fol., f. 8$^{vb27–37}$. 1400. Picture from http://handrit.org.

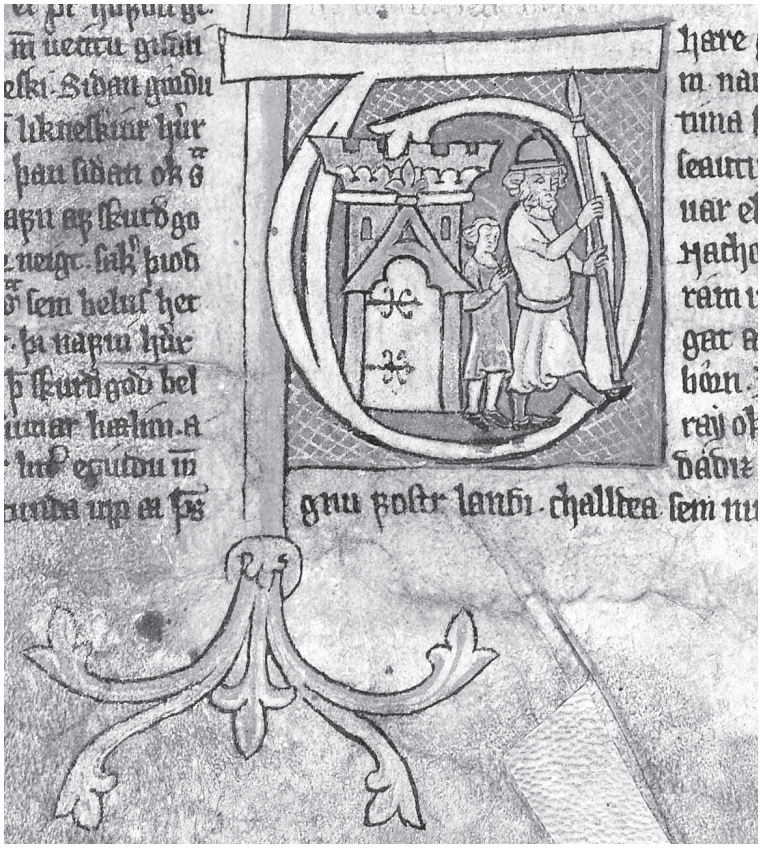


Figure 58. 'Abraham and Lot', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 22$^{rb36–46}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Figure 59. 'Isaac, Jacob, and Rebecca', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 34$^{va1–8}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

tual copy of AM 226 fol., AM 225 fol. (Figure 57). In contrast to the motif in AM 226 fol., here only the upper part of the initial depicts the building of the seven-boarded ark. The lower part depicts three figures, one of which is possibly Emzara, wife of Noah. The whole scene, therefore, might refer to the first part of the introduced text, which deals mainly with the people surrounding Noah while he is building the ark.

Many of the subsequent historiated major initials in AM 226 fol. follow a schema that is not as clearly recognizable. An example is the next initial, on f. 22$^{rb36–46}$, which introduces I Gen 11 and depicts Abraham and Lot (Figure 58).[257] According to the rubric written above the initial and the introduced text on f. 22$^{va20–25}$, the initial depicts Abraham setting out from Ur of the Chaldeans to travel to Shechem to build a new city:

> þa tok h*ann* þ*at* ræd at h*ann* stǫck i brǫtt or chalddea. ok haþ | di meðr seer son sin*n* abram. ok loth sunar sun sin*n*. sunar | ams. ok sunar konu sína saray husfru abrams. ok byria | di sua sína f*er*ð ut aþ challdea l*an*di. til þ*ei*ra l*an*dz sem þ*an*n tím | a bygdu kyns m*enn* ok aþ kuęmi chanæns. ok þa het te | rra chanaan.

257 *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 18, has suggested this to be Abraham with Isaac 'upon his journey to sacrifice'. This interpretation is misleading, since the iconographic motif of Abraham's sacrifice is usually shown differently. For examples, the *Stjórn* manuscript SÁM, AM 227 fol. from Þingeyrar depicts the iconography on f. 23$^{va14–25}$ as follows: while Abraham holds Isaac down on the sacrificial altar, an angel interferes with his action and holds a sword from above.

> [Then he took that advice to leave Chaldea. And he had with him his son Abraham and Lot, the son of his son, the son of Abraham, and the wife of his son, Sarah the wife of Abraham. And so he started his journey from the lands of Chaldea to those lands which at the time were settled by Canaan's family and descendants and that is named Terra Canaan.]

The iconographic motif is not depicted in any other manuscript that also contains *Stjórn*, nor is it comparable to any known iconographic models. It is thus likely an invention by Magnús.

Folio 34$^{va1–8}$ shows the next historiated initial at the beginning of I Gen 25. It depicts the blind Isaac blessing Jacob, who is guided by Rebecca (Figure 59).[258] As described on the following leaf on f. 35$^{vb24–39}$, this famous Old Testament scene refers to the known bible text in I Gen 27 on similar terms:

> Ek heyrda | upp æ at ƿadir þinn talaði til þíns bráðr esau. ok herm | di honum huersu hann haƿdi talad. Lyd nu at þi radum þinnum | sun minn sagdi rebecca. ƿar ok ber mer þau .íj. kid sem b | ezt bidr iallri minni ljíorð. til þers at ek gǫri þar aƿ | þinum ƿedr þers háttar fæðzlur sem ék ueit at hann etr gi | arna. ok sem þu hefir honum þers háttar retti borít. ok hann | hefir þar aƿ etít. þa ma uera at hann blezi þer istad esau fyrr | enn hann deyi. hann suaradi. þa. þat ueitz þu modir mín at esau bro | dir mínn er maðr allr lodinn. enn ek em allr línr ok slettr. | ʀu eƿ sua berr til. at fadir minn uill medr hondum þreiƿa um | mik ok kenni hann mik ok alla þessa mína gord. þa ottaz ek at | hann hyggí mik uiliat haƿa dara sik ok seti mer þa boluan ƿyrir | blezan. þessi bailuan biðr ek at æ mer liggi sagði rebecca. ɢe | r þetta eína sem ek bydr þer. ok ber hegat til mín þat sem | ek sagdi þer.
>
> ['I heard what your father said to your brother Esau.' And [she] told him what he said. 'Now my son, listen to this advice,' said Rebecca. 'Go and get me those two kids which are the best in all my flock [of goats], for I will make food from them for your father, such as I know that he will eat willingly. And after you have taken it to your father and he has eaten it, then it may be that he blesses you instead of Esau before his death.' He answered: 'You know, my mother, that my brother Esau is a hairy man and I am smooth-skinned. Now if my father wants to feel me with his hands, he will realize it is me and everything that I have done. Then I am afraid I shall seem to be a deceiver to him and he will put a curse on me instead of a blessing.' But Rebecca said: 'My son, I will ask that this curse be on me. Do just as I ask and bring me what I told you to.']

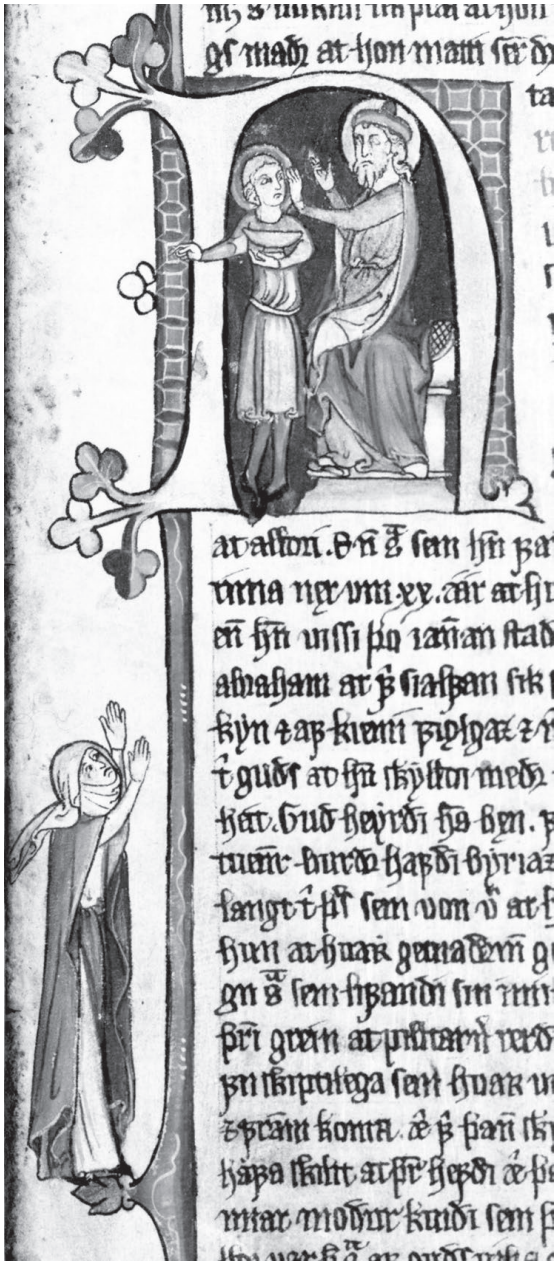


Figure 60. 'Isaac, Jacob, and Rebecca', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 227 fol., f. 38$^{ra10–19}$. 1350. Picture from https://handrit.is.

The importance of Isaac's blessing is also referred to in the rubric of the chapter on f. 35^{vb12}: 'fra þuí er ysaach blezaði son sín Iacob' (About how Isaac blessed his son Jacob). In addition, the minor initial on f. 35$^{vb12–14}$ introducing the previously tran-

258 *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 18. See also Liepe, *Studies*, p. 78.

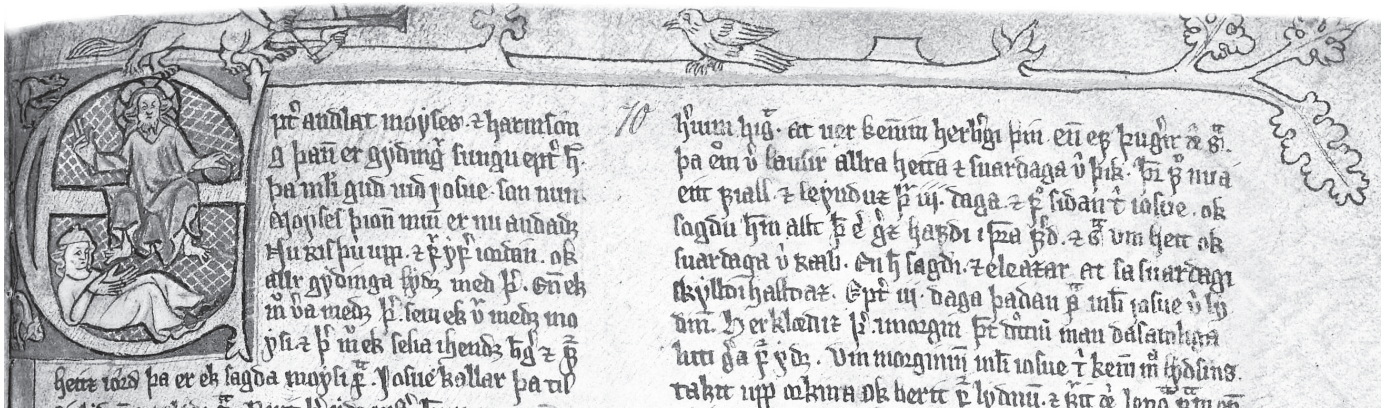


Figure 61. 'God and Joshua', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 70$^{ra1–8}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

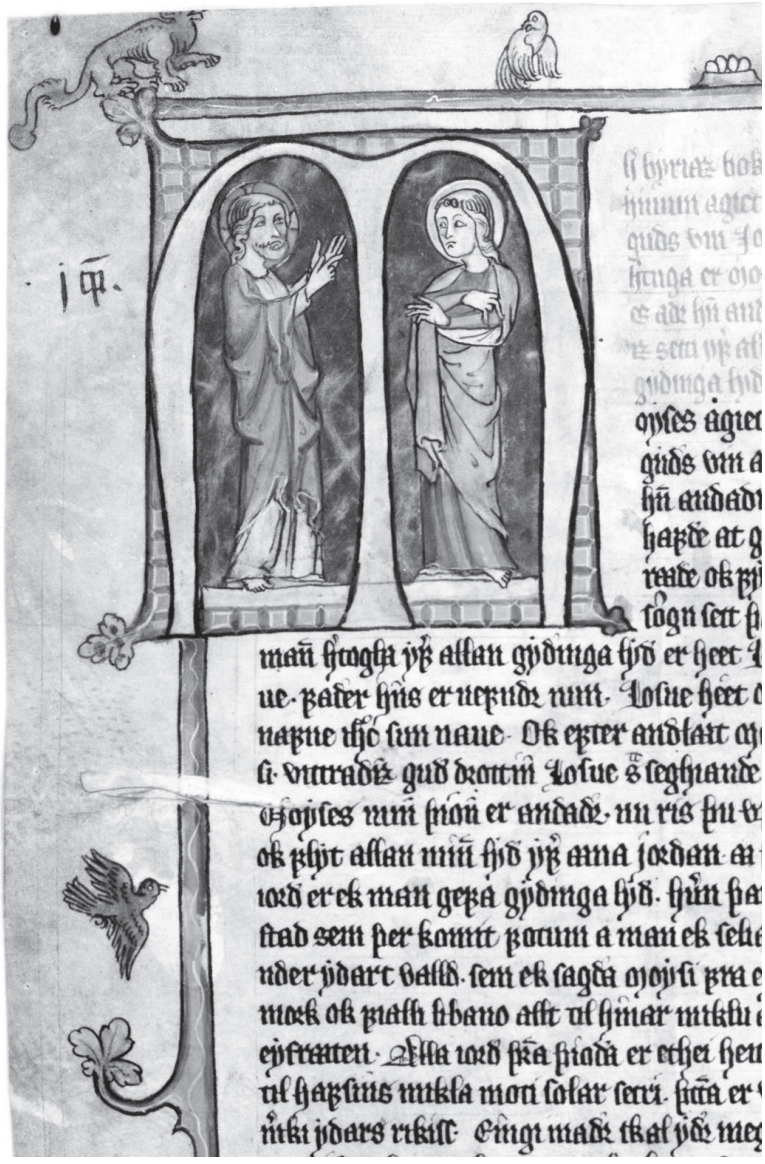


Figure 62. 'God and Joshua', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 227 fol., f. 71$^{va1–13}$. 1350. Picture from https://handrit.is.

scribed text shows a single hand with a blessing gesture and thus refers in a similar way to Isaac's blessing. It is apparent that Magnús intended to visually strengthen both the blessing of Jacob by his blind father, Isaac, and Rebecca who told Jacob how this could be achieved.

This text-related interest of Magnús seems to have given him some freedom in selecting and modifying the iconographic topics for the major initials in AM 226 fol. This is exemplified by an initial found on f. 38$^{ra10–19}$ in SÁM, AM 227 fol., a *Stjórn* manuscript from Þingeyrar (Figure 60).[259] The image follows the previous iconographic pattern: Isaac is again depicted with empty eyes that signal his blindness and also the blessing shown in AM 226 fol. is mirrored in the Þingeyrar manuscript. Nevertheless, in comparison, Magnús seemed to want to draw attention to Rebecca's fault rather than focusing on the blessing itself, since in AM 227 fol., she is placed outside the initial.

The next historiated initial in AM 226 fol. is found on f. 70$^{ra1–8}$, at the beginning of *Stjórn* III, which opens with I Joshua 1 (Figure 61). This initiates the oldest production unit of the manuscript. The text introduced by the initial on f. 70$^{ra1–9}$ reveals the depicted figures to be God and Joshua:

> Eptir andlat moyses .*ok* harmsón | g þan*n* er gydinga*r* sungu eptir h*ann*. | þa mællti gud uid josue. son nun. | moyses þion*n* min*n* er nu andadr | nu ris þu upp. *ok far* yfir iordan*n*. ok | allr gydínga lydr med þe*r*. En*n* ek | m*un* ve*r*a medr þe*r*. sem ek v*ar* medr mo | ysi. *ok* þe*r* m*un* ek selia i hendr b*orgir ok fyrir* | heitz iórd þa er ek sagda moysi f*ra*.
>
> [After the death of Moses and the mourning song that the Jews sang in his memory, God said to Joshua, the son of Nun: 'My servant Moses is dead. Now rise up and go over the

259 Jakobsen, *Studier i Clarus saga*, pp. 46 and 12.

> Jordan. And the whole Jewish population with you. But I will be with you in the same way as I was with Moses. And I will lay all cities and land in your hands in the same way as I have promised them to Moses.']

It is clear that Magnús wanted to stress the passage 'ɴu ʀis þu upp' (Now rise up) as a form of awakening, since Joshua is depicted lying before the seated God. Interestingly, the same chapter is illuminated in AM 227 fol. as well, but with a different iconographic focus (Figure 62). First and foremost, a different letter was used for the major initials. As with the previous historiated initial in AM 226 fol., it must be assumed that Magnús and the illuminators of AM 227 fol. made use of different iconographic models.

The next main initial in AM 226 fol. is found at the start of Judges 1 on f. $72^{rb13–20}$. Unfortunately, no information is available regarding the content of the historiated initial, since it has been entirely scratched out. The letter, presumably an E since the first word is '[E]pt*ir*' (After), is no longer legible. AM 225 fol. from Helgafell offers a main initial at the start of Judges 1, too, but this initial is only ornamented and thus provides no information on the original content of the (now erased) illumination in AM 226 fol. It is likely that the initial was historiated and that the erasure of it came from the intention to remove an image that was considered inappropriate after completion, possibly even after the Reformation.

On f. $79^{rb21–29}$, starting I Sam 1, a unique initial is provided, which depicts a young warrior seated on a throne decorated with bulky animal heads (Figure 63). The rubric (underlined) and subsequent text refer to the hero Elkanah, a likely candidate for the figure in the initial:

> her heft upp ok segir fra heltha | na ok konū h*ans* .íj. Anna *o*k Fenenn*a* | HAthana h*et* m*aðr*. son ierob*o*am so | n*r* helai son*r* tha u. son*r* | suphs. Helthana var kalladr | effrateus. þ*vi*at h*ann* v*ar* ættadr aþ | þiall bygd effraym. *ok* þ*ar* byg | di h*ann* ib*or*g þuerr*i* h*er* e*r* kollud ʀam | atha en i odru*m* b*o*gu*m* ʀama. h*on* | stendr i þ*vi* h*er*adi æ gydínga | l*a*ndi er heit sophim. h*ann* v*ar* audig*r* m*aðr ok* atti íj. konur | i sen*n*.
>
> [Here begins the story about Elkanah and his two wives Anna and Fenenna. There was a man called Elkanah, who was the son of Jeroboam, son of Haeliv, son of Thav, son of Suph. Elkanah was named Ephrateus because he was of the lineage of the [mountain] people of Ephraim. And there he lived in the city which here is called Ramatha but in other books Rama. That city stands in the district of the land of the Jews that is called Sophim. He was a rich man and had two wives of his own.]

Figure 63. 'Elkanah or Saul enthroned', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. $79^{rb21–29}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Although the introductory text on f. 83^{v} in I Sam 9 and I Sam 13 may suggest an iconographic reference to Saul,[260] the visual link to Elkanah through the rubric and initial word of the text, together with the absence of a crown, suggest him to be the depicted figure. A similar rubric–image reference is found again later in AM 226 on f. $129^{ra32–40}$, at the start of

260 *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 18, has previously assumed that the depicted figure is Saul, due to his military appearance in the initial. Both features are well supported by the king's military attributes. Nevertheless, the visual link through the rubric and the initial word of the main text makes it more likely that it depicts Elkanah rather than Saul in the initial.

Figure 64. 'Óláfr Tryggvason and Þyri Haraldsdóttir', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), f. 69$^{rb17–23}$. 1387–94. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Alexanders saga. It might well be that the two initials provide examples for Magnús's working techniques as illuminator. It is not surprising that no iconographic reference provides a model for the initial on f. 79$^{rb21–29}$, and it could be concluded that this initial also is an invention of Magnús. In SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), Magnús has painted a similar initial, which depicts King Óláfr Tryggvason (*c*. 960–1000), his wife Þyri Haraldsdóttir, and his dog Vígi (Figure 64).[261] The similar pose of Elkanah and King Óláfr combined with the visual or textual reference to their wives suggest that Magnús used related textual and/or iconographic models.

The next historiated initial in AM 226 fol. again follows a known iconographic model. It is found at the start of I Sam 10 at f. 81$^{va31–39}$ and depicts the iconic scene of Samuel anointing Saul (Figure 65).[262] The rubric and text describe the scene in detail:

> Er Samuel smurði Saul | til hofðingia. cap*itulum.* | Samuel tok þa k*er* þ*at* | er h*a*nn kallaði lentícula*m* þullt vid sm | iórs *ok* geck at saul *ok* steypti yþ*ir* h*anz* | hoþud þ*es*su hínu helga v*ið* smiorui. | ok kysti h*ann sva* segi*a*ndi. See. nu sm*ur*di d | rottin*n* þik t*il* hoþdíng*ia* yþ*ir* sína erþd.

Figure 65. 'Samuel anoints Saul', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 81$^{va31–39}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Figure 66. 'Samuel anoints Saul', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 225 fol., f. 50$^{vb9–18}$. 1400. Picture from http://handrit.org.

> [How Samuel anointed Saul to become a chieftain. Capitulum. Samuel then took that vessel which he called Lenticulam and which was filled with butter. And he went to Saul and poured over his head this holy oil. And he kissed him saying 'See, now God has anointed you to watch over his inheritance as a chieftain.']

I Sam 10 is also shown in DAM, AM 225 fol., together with a related historiated initial (Figure 66). In this initial, Saul kneels before Samuel in a praying ges-

261 Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', pp. 247–50.
262 *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 18.

ture. Despite the similar letter form, it is obvious that the two images draw on different models. This is also seen in the different sizes of the figures in both manuscripts.

The next historiated initial in AM 226 fol. shows conventional iconography. Introducing II Sam 1, it depicts David playing the harp on f. 88$^{ra1–9}$ (Figure 67). The rubric and the first lines of the chapter refer to the king's reputation and importance:

> her hefr *ok* upp aþ d*avi*d er h*ann* v*ar* til k*onun*gs | tekin yf*ir* allt ríki iuda. capitulu*m* | A þridia degi þ*ra* þ*vi* er d*avi*d v*ar* aptr kom*inn* | til sicljileg þ*ra* vikinga d*ra*pi amale | ch. sem f*yrr* var ʀitat. þa kom ein*n* | laupandi m*aðr* or her budu*m* saul | *ok* ʀeif aþ s*er* klæðín. h*ann* J os moll | du i hofud s*er*. ok sem h*ann* kom þ*yrir* | d*avi*d. fell h*ann* allr til iarðar *ok* ku | addi h*ann*. Dauid sp*ur*di huadan h*ann* kom. h*ann* seg*ir* sik flyit h*afa* | þ*ra* h*er*budu*m* gydínga. Dau*id* m*ælti*. hu*at* e*r* þ*ar* tidinda. seg m*er* sat*t* | aþ. h*ann* s*varadi*. þau e*ro* tidindi þadan at seg*ia*. at þ*ar* v*ar*d mikil | or*rost*a. ɢydinga fol.k flydi or bardaga en*n* fioldi v*ar* fall | in*n*. Saul k*onung*r drepin*n*. *ok* jonathas son h*ans*. Sem d*aui*d heyrði | þ*ess*i tiðendi. sleit h*ann* klæði sui m*edr* hormulig*ri* hrygð. ok | allir þ*eir* m*enn* e*r* m*edr* h*onu*m v*oru*. fastadu þ*ann* dag. allan til apt | ans. *ok* syrgdu særliga ept*ir* saul k*onun*g. ok ionathan s*onr* h*ans*.
>
> [Here begins the story where David was elected king over all kingdoms of the Jews. Capitulum. On the third day after David had come back from Sicily from the slaughter of the people of Amalech, as was written before, a man then came running from the room of Saul. And his clothing was torn and he had dirt on his head. And when he came before David he fell down to the earth and greeted him. David asked where he came from. He said that he had fled from the Jewish armies. David spoke: 'What is the news there? Tell me what is true.' He answered: 'There is this news to tell from there: there was a big battle and the Jewish people fled from the battle, but a multitude had fallen. King Saul was killed and his son, Jonathan.' When David heard this news, he tore apart his clothes in utmost sorrow. All men that were with him fasted on that day until the evening. And all mourned King Saul and his son Jonathan greatly.]

Despite the content of the rubric and the culturally adapted text (see the Old Norse term *víkingr*), the initial in AM 226 fol. follows the standard of the iconography and thus deviates from the close

Figure 67. 'David plays the harp', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 88$^{ra1–9}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Figure 68. 'Solomon and Queen Saba', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 96$^{va7–14}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Figure 69. 'Massinissa and servant', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 110$^{ra17–25}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

rubric–image references of previous initials. This is further strengthened through the reference provided by the animal head on the throne, which is perhaps best understood as being a symbol of royal power.[263]

The next initial on f. 96$^{va7–14}$ starts I Kings 2 (Figure 68). The rubric on f. 96$^{va7–9}$ indicates that the sitting figure is King Solomon: 'Her byriaz | vpp ok segir fra Salamon k*onung*i er h*ann* | let drepa Adonia*m* broðor sinn ꝑ*yrir* retta sok' (Here [it] begins and tells of King Solomon how he has his brother Adonias rightfully killed). The identity of the female figure is less clear. One possibility is that the initial depicts Bathsheba who blames her son for having his own brother killed.[264] At the same time, it seems less likely that the otherwise unimportant killing of Adonias is given such prominence in AM 226 fol. King Solomon is without doubt the most important role model for kings in the Old Testament regarding both judgement and wisdom,[265] and he was known as such in medieval Iceland, too, as is evidenced among other places in the famous, thirteenth-century Norwegian educational text *Konungs skuggsjá*.[266] The alternative, and more likely, possibility is that the initial shows the famous contest between Solomon and Queen Saba, since the equal standing of both royal figures is also attested in the rubric at the start of the respective subchapter on f. 98^{va37}: 'fra saba drottningu *ok* salomon k*onung*i' (About Queen Saba and King Solomon). It is thus more likely that the text and rubric at the main initial on f. 96$^{va7–14}$ are adjacent to the story of the death of Adonias, after which Bathsheba blames Solomon for his death. Nevertheless, the much more powerful female whom Solomon encounters is Queen Saba, who appears later in the same chapter. Unfortunately, the depicted motif is not known from other Icelandic manuscripts and no iconographic model can be identified.

The same applies to the following initial on f. 110$^{ra17–25}$ at the start of *Rómverja saga* (Figure 69). The initial is understood to depict King Massinissa and a servant,[267] since both the text and rubric support this assumption:

> her byriaz | vpp romina sog*r* af ᴍassimissa k*onung*i | Massimíssa h*e*t k*onung*r í numídia. h*ann* v*ar* mí | kill uín pupli. ꝑ*vi* tok h*ann* mikin*n* met | nad af ʀomu*er*ium. s*ua* at ꝑ*eir* settu h*ann* | hoꝺding*ia* ok k*onun*g y*fir* ǫ̀ll ꝑau ʀ*iki* e*r* pup | líus cipo haꝺdi un*n*it. ok s*ua* ꝑau ʀ*iki*. | er elmibal haꝺdi átt.
>
> [Here begins the Roman story of King Massinissa. Massinissa was the name of a king in Numidia. He was a great friend of Publius. Because of this he gained much esteem from the Romans, so that they made him chieftain and king over all kingdoms that Publius Scipio had owned. And also over those kingdoms where Elmibal had ruled before.]

The second figure, assumed to be a servant, is not mentioned in the text. For the time being, this figure remains mysterious, since no further manuscript of *Rómverja saga* displays a historiated initial. Yet, the iconographic model used for this initial is known to be Artaxerxes, cupbearer of Nehemiah, which is a common topic in French Bible manuscripts from the thirteenth century; this will be discussed in Chapter 4.

The final historiated initial in AM 226 fol. introduces *Alexanders saga* on f. 129$^{ra32–40}$ and depicts the Persian King Darius III (Figure 70).[268] As in the pre-

263 David is often depicted on a throne with animal head extensions. For further examples, see Steger, *David*, pp. 124–25.

264 *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 18, has suggested that it is Solomon's mother Bathsheba 'in the act of pleading, [...] asking him to give Abishag in marriage to Adonijah'. Similar to the rubric mentioned above, the chapter that is introduced with this initial describes how Solomon had his brother Adonias killed after he without right declared himself king.

265 Poeschel, *Handbuch der Ikonographie*, p. 84.

266 Schnall, *Didaktische Absichten*, pp. 122–24.

267 *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 18.

268 Alternatively, *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 18, has suggested that the figure might represent

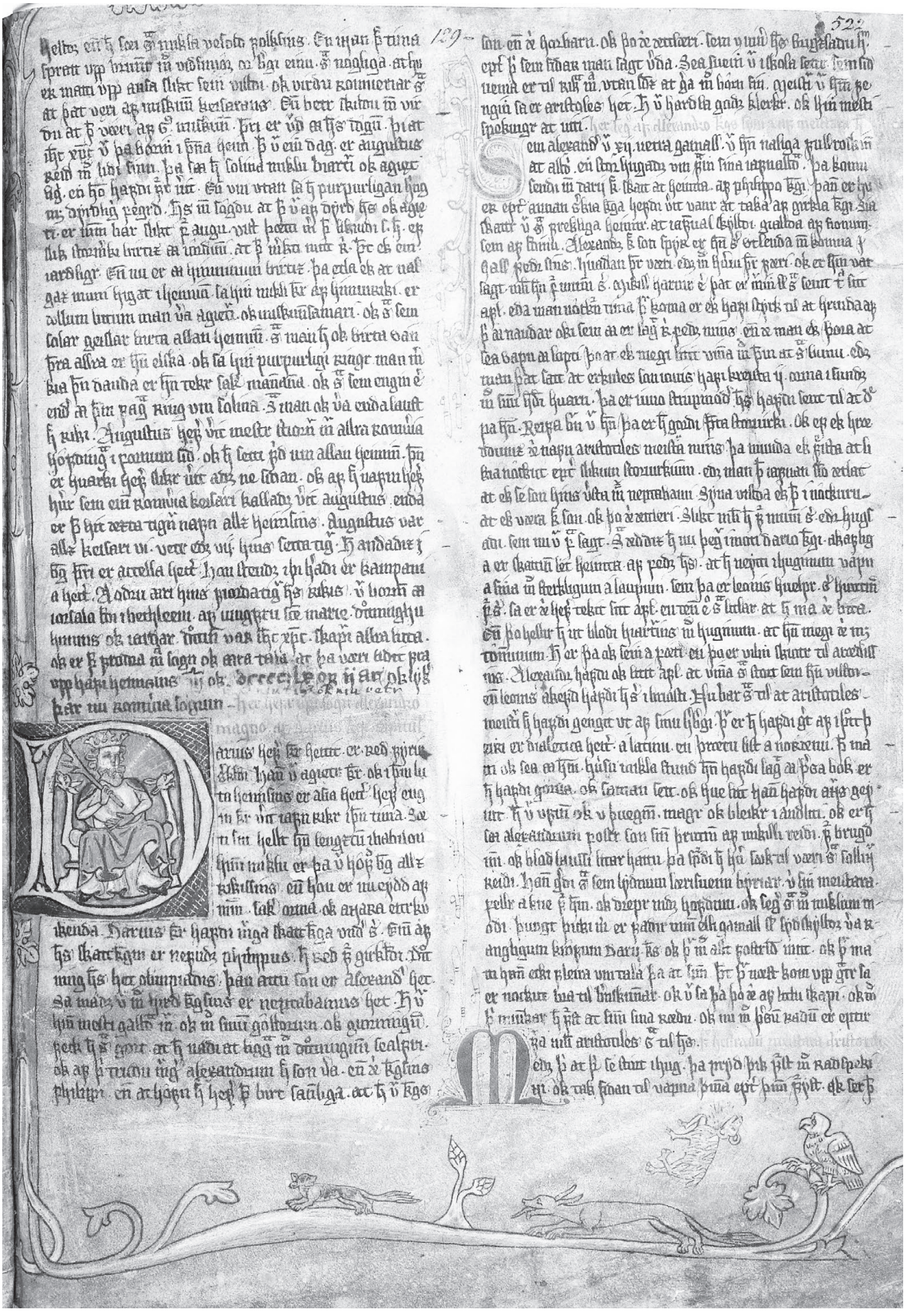


Figure 70. 'Darius III enthroned', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 129ra32–40. 1370.
Picture from http://handrit.org.

vious initial, this identification is well supported by the rubric and first lines of the text:

> her hefr upp sogu Alexandro | magno. af Darius konungi capitulum | Darius hefir konungr heitit . er . ʀed fyrir | serklandi Hann var agietr konungr. ok i þeim hlu | ta heimsíns er asia heitir. hefr eng | in konungr vitr iafn ʀikr i þann tíma. sæ | ti sui hellt hann lengztum ibabilon | hinu miklu er þa var hoɢuðborg allz | ʀikissins.
>
> > [Here begins the story about Alexander the Great, [and] of King Darius. Capitulum. Darius was the name of a king who ruled over Serkland. He was a renowned king, and in the part of the world that is named Asia, no king existed who was as rich as him at that time. He held his throne most of the time in the great city of Babylon, which was then the capital of the whole kingdom.]

In addition to the royal insignia on the king's clothing and hands, the fact that Darius III looks directly towards his name in the opening chapter also suggests the initial depicts him. The visual link to the name of the depicted figure is a feature also known from SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók) and may thus be interpreted as standard iconographic repertoire of Magnús.[269] Furthermore, the two flanking animal heads on the throne might refer to a similar form of royal symbolism as in the depictions of King David and Elkanah or Saul, previously mentioned, in AM 226 fol. Unfortunately, as with the initial at the beginning of *Rómverja saga*, no other historiated book painting of *Alexanders saga* has survived, and no obvious iconographic references are known.

The last main initial in AM 226 fol. is found on f. 146$^{vb28–35}$ at the beginning of *Gyðinga saga* (Figure 71). The zoomorphic letter is inhabited by two dogs chasing parts of the Romanesque ornamentation. The initial is not related to any textual content in the introduced text, and it is surprising that no related iconography was chosen for this initial, since a number of medium initials with related zoomorphic content indeed provide text–image references.[270] Magnús may not have been able to find a suitable iconography, since no rubric is added to this initial. On the other hand, the introduced text

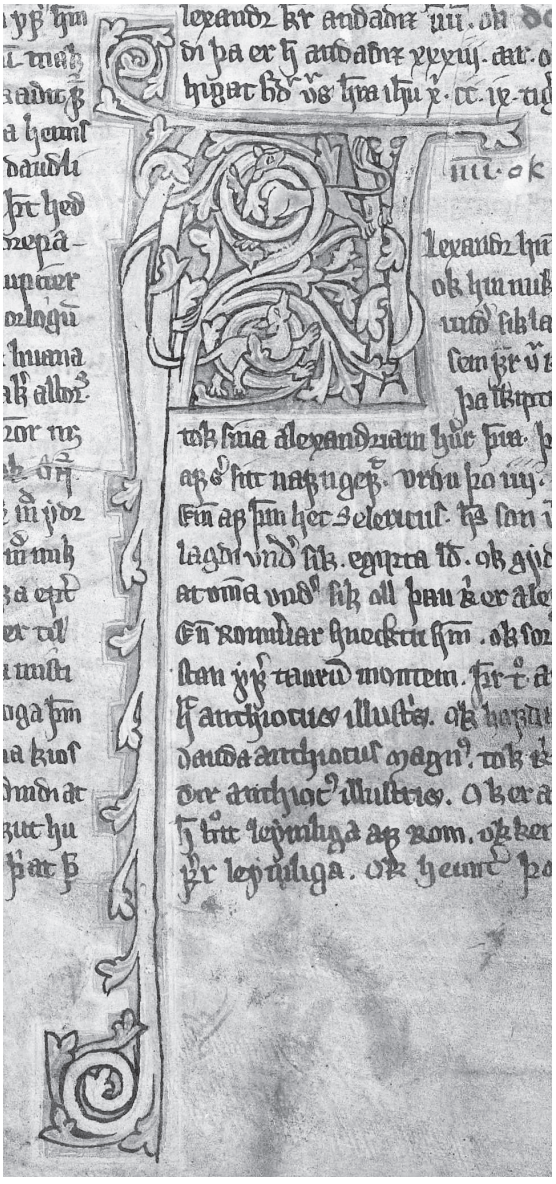


Figure 71. 'Zoomorphic initial', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 146$^{vb28–35}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

with the first word, 'Alexander', would have provided a suitable textual basis for a related royal depiction, as in the previous initial.

In addition to the puzzling content of some of the major initials, AM 226 fol. shows a pattern that is unlike any other contemporary Icelandic book painting. Throughout the manuscript, its illuminator Magnús makes great use of different forms of dogs in his illuminations, similar to large, text-related quantities of depictions of dogs in his other work, Flateyjarbók.[271] Especially in the middle ini-

Alexander the Great due to the introduced saga. But he does not provide a textual reference for his claim.

269 For the iconographic examples in GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), see Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', pp. 229 and 253.

270 For the historiated content of zoomorphic initials, see Heslop, 'Brief in Words'.

271 See Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók*, p. 355. In AM 226 fol., dogs and grylli figures are depicted on f. 4$^{va28–30}$, f. 11$^{ra4–8}$,

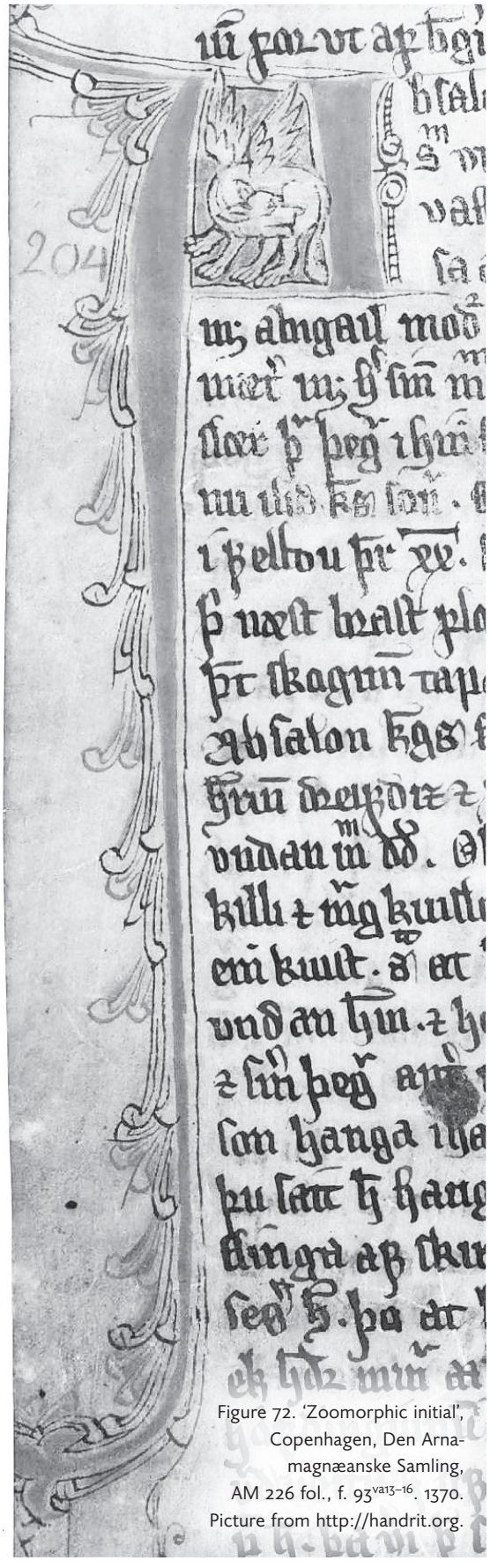


Figure 72. 'Zoomorphic initial', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 93$^{va13–16}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

tials, dogs are shown with various facial expressions and actions of varying symbolic value. Often minor initials show dogs that look outwards to the right or backwards to their tail. Sometimes they are repeated and usually only slightly modified in their appearance. They are not always used for unhistoriated contents. On f. 93$^{va13–16}$, for example, introducing II Sam 1. 17, a dog wearing wings is shown (Figure 72). The rubric and text provide a free visual interpretation of the story of Absalon, son of King David:

> fra drapi absalons sonr davið konungs capitulum | absalon for eptir þeim | sem vt yþir iordan. með hann uar þeir hermenn er vapnum matti | vaffria. ok setti sinum herbuðir i galaath. hann setti ama | sa aþ iezrael haþdingr yþir her sinn. Amasa lagðiz | með; abigail modir systir ioab. hershoþding til dauids. Absalon | mætti mǫnnum hersmǫnnum menn davids a skogi effraím. Hafdi hann miklu meira lid | slær þar þegar ihinni harðazta bardaga. ok snyr skiott mannfallí | nu ihlið konungs sonr.
>
> [About the killing of Absalon, the son of King David. Capitulum. Absalon went out after them [and] over the Jordan. With him were those soldiers who could roam about with weapons. And they set their camps at Galaath. He appointed Amasa from Israel as the leader of his army. Amasa agreed to this. Abigail was the aunt of Joab, the leader of David's army. Absalon met the men and army of David at the wood of Ephraim. He had a much greater army and the hardest of battles took place. And a big loss of men occurred in the army of the king's son.]

Both the reference to wings and the gesture of the dog looking back over his tail to the rubric, similar to Darius III in the main initial discussed before, indicate Magnús's interest in using dog depictions to illuminate specific texts. Since the actual death of Absalon is mentioned much later in the text, Magnús provides with his rubric a visual hint at the killing of the king's son in the form of a winged animal. According to the text, Absalon betrayed David and

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f. 15$^{ra15–18}$, f. 29$^{ra36–39}$, f. 37$^{va7–9}$, f. 44$^{ra19–21}$, f. 55$^{ra5–7}$, f. 57$^{va41–43}$, f. 61$^{ra19–21}$, f. 78$^{rb4–8}$ (dog and gryllus), f. 92$^{vb22–24}$, f. 93$^{va13–16}$ (with wings), f. 116$^{ra43–47}$ (with wings), f. 128$^{rb15–18}$ (with wings), f. 133$^{va11–14}$ (dog and griffin), and f. 143$^{ra24–27}$. Furthermore, on f. 83$^{va5–7}$ two goats are displayed. Apart from various depictions in the margins, grylli figures are shown on f. 25$^{va24–26}$, f. 96$^{ra14–16}$, f. 108$^{vb39–42}$, and f. 137$^{vb35–38}$. A visual structure of the dog depictions in minor initials is not found. Yet it should be mentioned that only in one instance are other animals part of the middle initials: on f. 83$^{va5–7}$, in the beginning of the second subchapter of 1 Sam 1. 16, where a ram and a goat are shown.

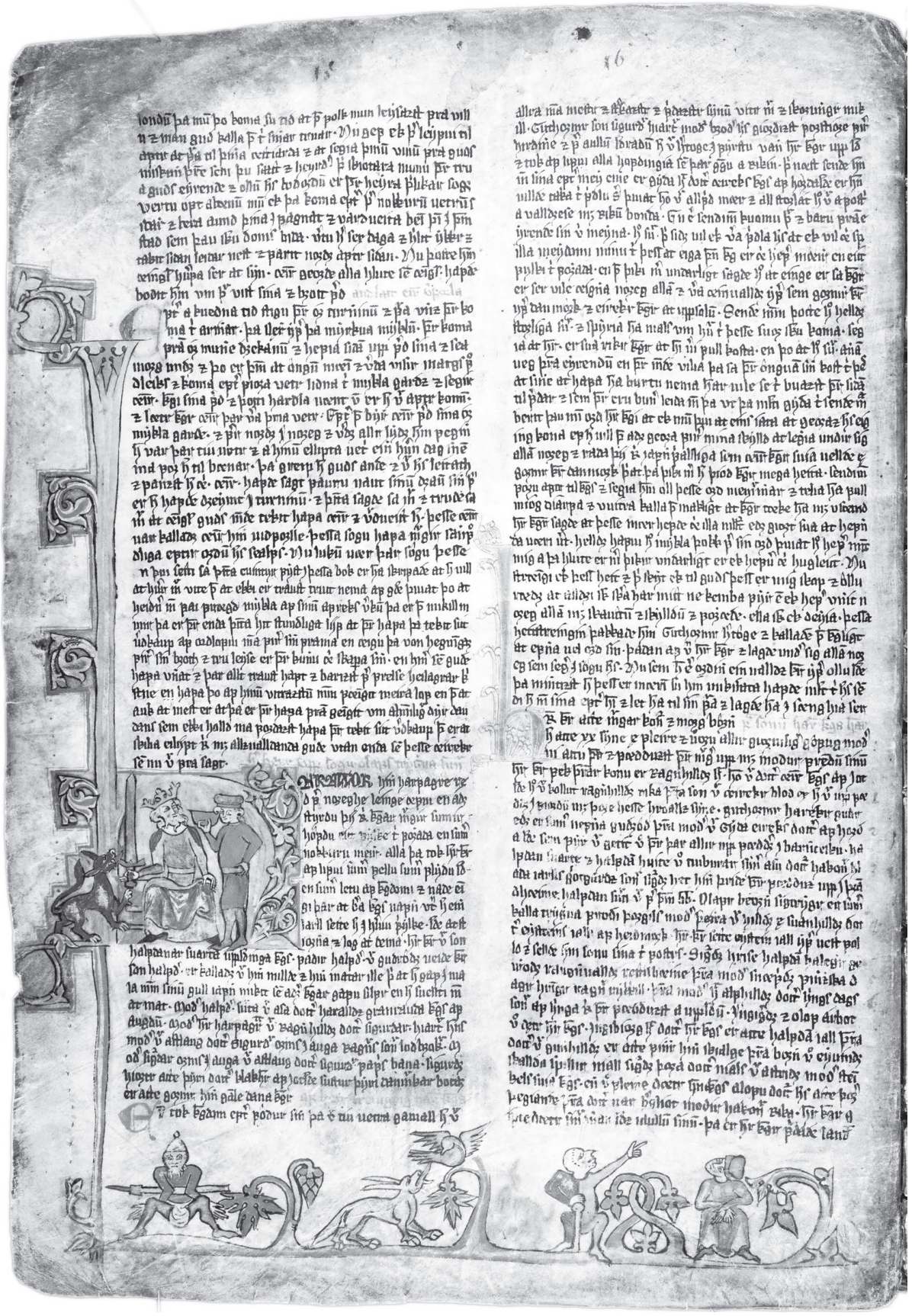

Figure 73. 'Haraldr *hárfagri* Hálfdanarson and servant', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), f. 5$^{va19–28}$. 1387–94. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Table 18. Major initials in AM 227 fol.

Size	Letter	Text	Chapter	Iconography
F. 1$^{va1–15}$	A	*Stjórn* I	Prologue	God in Majesty
F. 14$^{va1–7}$	S		I Gen 1	*Inhabited*
F. 23$^{va14–25}$	T		I Gen 11	Abraham's sacrifice
F. 33$^{va6–15}$	A		I Gen 27	Yahweh and Esau
F. 38$^{ra10–19}$	M		I Gen 32	Isaac blessing Jacob
F. 46$^{rb8–37}$	I		I Gen 36	Ornamented
F. 71$^{va1–13}$	M	*Stjórn* III	Joshua 1	God talks to Joshua
F. 88$^{vb1–11}$	H		I Sam 1	Samuel anoints David
F. 96$^{ra27–44}$	I		I Sam 16	Samuel and one of his wives
F. 115$^{ra15–23}$	A		I Kings 2	Solomon enthroned

Table 19. Major initials in AM 225 fol.

Size	Letter	Text	Chapter	Iconography
F. 8$^{vb27–37}$	S	*Stjórn* I	I Gen 16	Noah builds the ark
F. 23$^{ra26–35}$	N		I Gen 25	Rebecca prays
F. 35$^{ra31–39}$	H		II Gen 1	*Ornamented*
F. 42$^{va1–15}$	E	*Stjórn* III	I Joshua 1	*Ornamented*
F. 44$^{ra21–28}$	E		I Judges 1	*Ornamented*
F. 49$^{ra42–50}$	H		I Sam 1	Elkanah with his two wives
F. 50$^{vb9–18}$	S		I Sam 10	Samuel anoints David
F. 55$^{ra40–47}$	A		II Sam 1	*Ornamented*
F. 61$^{va36–43}$	A		I Kings 2	*Inhabited*
F. 74$^{rb6–15}$	M	*Rómverja saga*	*Rómverja saga*	*Ornamented*
F. 88$^{va30–38}$	D	*Alexanders saga*	*Alexanders saga*	*Ornamented*
F. 101$^{rb21–28}$	A	*Gyðinga saga*	*Gyðinga saga*	*Ornamented*

was killed by the king's men. It is thus possible that the dog represents Absalon and that the wings refer to his death.

Symbolic depictions of dogs are not unusual in medieval book paintings. Especially influenced by the works of Isidore of Seville, dogs and dog-like figures were often considered iconic representations of faithfulness and loyal friendship in medieval art.[272] Nevertheless, the example from AM 226 fol. is unusual and suggests a more independent approach to illuminating the introduced text, particularly as other depictions of dogs and dog-like figures in AM 226 fol. are less related to the text. They are used merely for ornamental reasons. In Flateyjarbók, wherein Magnús adds dog figures several times to the content of major initials, two examples stick out: the first is a depiction of the half-mythic Norwegian King Haraldr *hárfagri* Hálfdanarson (*c.* 850–931/32), who is shown with an unidentified servant and a dog (Figure 73). Most important appears to be a depiction of King Óláfr Tryggvason with Þyri Haraldsdóttir, one of his wives (see Figure 64, above). According to the text, the dog is identified as Vígi, a fearsome but loyal animal which, according to the text, dies of sorrow after the king has been killed.[273] In the case of Vígi, Isidore's description of the faithfulness of dogs is well represented in Flateyjarbók.

By comparing the text–image reference of the historiated initials in AM 226 fol., it becomes clear that Magnús usually refers to the rubrics written by the scribe H Hel 1 to identify the subject matter. By doing so, he used only a few general iconographic models such as Christ in Majesty or David playing the harp to illuminate *Stjórn*. More often, he worked independently from iconographic models and chapter-specific images. The majority of historiated initials in AM 226 fol. have been created especially for the manuscript, as they are found nowhere in other manuscripts that also contain *Stjórn*: neither DAM, AM 225 fol., the direct textual copy of AM 226 fol., nor the Þingeyrar codex SÁM, AM 227 fol. provide iconographic references. The interpictorial technique used by Magnús is found not only in AM 226 fol. and Flateyjarbók, but also in SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók) and thus might have been a form of training at Helgafell during the second half of the fourteenth century.

The individual approach adopted by Magnús to illuminate *Stjórn*, the vernacular version of the Old Testament, is also reflected in the two illuminated manuscripts that contain the same text: AM 225 fol. from Helgafell and AM 227 fol. from Þingeyrar. No general similarities between AM 226 fol. and AM 227 fol. are found, even in the margins,[274] nor are any textual links between the two manuscripts given. AM 226 fol. is most likely of a slightly later date than AM 227 fol.,[275] which supports the assumption that the workshops at Helgafell and Þingeyrar operated independently from each other on both textual and artistic terms. This is also seen in the placement and content of the major initials in the two manuscripts (Table 18).[276]

272 Sachs, Badstübner, and Neumann, 'Hund'.

273 Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', pp. 247–50.

274 Selma Jónsdóttir, *Lýsingar í Stjórnarhandriti*, p. 60.

275 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 19–21.

276 Taken from Selma Jónsdóttir, *Lýsingar í Stjórnarhandriti*, pp. 16–20. Selma Jónsdóttir has interpretated the historiated initial on f. 33$^{va6–15}$ as the Temptation of Christ. This is doubtful in my view, since Christ is nowhere referred to in the text. It is more likely that the initial depicts Yahweh and Esau.

Table 21. Content and scribes of AM 239 fol. The underlined parts belong to second production unit of the manuscript.

Text	Text Length	Scribes	Date
Table of Contents	F. 1r	H Hel 10, further hands	*c.* 1400[a]
Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs	Ff. 1v–35v	H Hel 1	*c.* 1360–70
Jóns saga baptista	Ff. 36r–52v	H Hel 7	*c.* 1350–1400
Pétrs saga postula	Ff. 52v–85v		
	Ff. 86r–95r	Magnús Jónsson í Vigur	*c.* 1600–1700[b]
Andréss saga postula	Ff. 96r–101v13	H Hel 7	*c.* 1350–1400
Viðræðr Gregoríusar	Ff. 101v14–109v		

[a] For literature on the dating of all sections apart from ff. 86r–95r, see Table 1.
[b] Kålund, *Katalog*, 1, 207.

Table 20. Number and distribution of major initials in AM 225 fol., AM 226 fol., and AM 227 fol.

Text	AM 225 fol.	AM 226 fol.	AM 227 fol.
Stjórn I	3	4	6
Stjórn III	6	6	4

In comparison with the content, number, and placement of major initials in AM 226 fol., the two workshops at Helgafell and Þingeyrar followed different specifications. While the compiler of the Þingeyrar codex AM 227 fol. strengthens the importance of Genesis in *Stjórn* I, it is *Stjórn* III that is most illuminated in the Helgafell manuscript AM 226 fol. At the same time, the division and number of initials of the AM 226 fol.-copy, AM 225 fol., also differs from that of AM 226 fol. (Table 19).

In comparison with AM 227 fol., most initials in AM 225 fol. seem to follow a similar structure to AM 226 fol., since most initials are found again in *Stjórn* III (Table 20).

Despite the comparable number of major initials in the two *Stjórn* texts, the iconography and the specific placement of the initials in AM 225 fol. and AM 226 fol. demonstrate that the scribe and illuminator of AM 225 fol. did not follow the structural division of AM 226 fol. very closely, undeterred by a number of ornamental models that were clearly adapted during the copying process.[277] Only the first initial on f. 8vb27–37 in AM 225 fol., depicting Noah building the ark, provides a loose iconographic reference to AM 226 fol., while all other historiated initials indicate different iconographic models. The divergence in the selection of iconographic images might hint towards different intentions for the original audience. Unlike in AM 225 fol., AM 226 fol. shows a clear focus on images of rulers and the coronation of kings with a number of generalized features: young rulers are always painted small, share the same hair style, and are often clad only in a simple tunic. As kings, they wear a crown, tunic, and robe and are bearded. This way of depicting the royal figures supports the description of the textual arrangement of AM 226 fol., which seems to be pedagogic. It is likely that AM 226 fol. was produced for Helgafell itself, and that it was intended to be used to educate young pupils about world history up until the birth of Christ. Some of the most important figures and rulers of the Old Testament and subsequent ages are presented in the initials and at the same time are closely related to the introduced text and rubrics. It is only the beginning of *Gyðinga saga* that deviates from this pattern. All other historiated major initials are direct representations of people described in *Stjórn* and the following saga texts.

Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 239 fol.

The next manuscript written by the scribe H Hel 1, the *Postula sögur* codex SÁM, AM 239 fol., is a crucial manuscript for the whole group from Helgafell as it contains the only connection to the Augustinian house of canons regular. A number of important textual and stylistic relationships to other manuscripts of the group are also featured.[278] The first two production units of the 109 leaves were written in the second half of the fourteenth century by H Hel 1 and another otherwise unknown hand, here named H Hel 7. Only later in the seventeenth century was a short passage added to fill in the content of a missing leaf.[279] The length, content, and different scribes of AM 239 fol. are given in Table 21.

Apart from one saga, all of the texts in AM 239 fol. are defective, and due to the incomplete state of the codex, the original division of gatherings can no longer be established. Folio 1r was left blank by the

277 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 95 and 103.

278 For the content of AM 239 fol., see *Postola sögur*, ed. by Unger, p. xii; Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 36–37 and p. 40; *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21; and Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 163–68.

279 Within *Pétrs saga postula*, a defective part has been added by the then owner of AM 239 fol., Magnús Jónsson í Vigur (1637–1702). For Magnús Jónsson, see Jóhann Gunnar Ólafsson, 'Magnús Jónsson í Vigur'.

original scribe H Hel 1. In *c.* 1400, several additions were made, including a table of contents and a reference to the monastery at Helgafell. Both are written by the otherwise unknown hand H Hel 10.[280] A note written by this hand on the top of f. 1^{r} reads: '… at helga felle æa bok þessa' (… at Helgafell owns this book) (Figure 74). The missing first word most likely read [klaustrit] (the monastery).

Unfortunately, the provenance of AM 239 fol. after 1400 remains unknown until the early seventeenth century,[281] but in 1400 it must have included the same content as today, since below this note, a table of contents is found which was written by the same scribe that wrote the note on the ownership. The table of contents has almost vanished, but some of the remaining text is traceable:

> Þessar saughur eru samsett*ar* [a] þessaʀi bok … | … Jacobo ok Johanne sonu*m* … | þui næst af … | Johanne b*aptista* | … hofdindhium petro … | Jtem af … | Jtem … fior*ar* … alog … spekings (?) gregorij pæva.[282]
>
> [These sagas are put together in this book … Jacob and John, his son … next of … John the Baptist … chieftain Petrus … also of … also … four … wonders … wise (?) Pope Gregory.]

Since this table of contents includes both parts written by H Hel 1 and H Hel 7, these two parts were most likely written together, indicating that, in the fourteenth century, it was common practice to produce composite manuscripts at Helgafell.

AM 239 includes three apostle sagas (*Postula sögur*) and a vernacular version of the *Dialogi Gregorii*. The first section written by H Hel 1 only contains a defective version of the oldest redaction of the *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*, of which approximately half survives today.[283] Despite the fragmentary state of the saga, the text most likely acted as the principal model for the respective texts in SÁM, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), and SÁM, AM 653 a 4to & LBS, JS fragm 7,[284] both of which were written by the scribe H Hel 2, as mentioned above. Supporting this, AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7 appear to be slightly older than the respective text in Codex Scardensis but equally related to the respective saga text in AM 239 fol.[285] The chapter division of the text, as indicated by large initials in AM 239 fol., also provides a connection to Codex Scardensis. The following three sagas in AM 239 fol., written by H Hel 7, are generally found in other manuscripts from Helgafell too.[286] Their redactions are not as closely linked to other manuscripts as the first text,[287] leading to the conclusion that the texts used by H Hel 7 are less related to the internal workshop at Helgafell than those texts used by H Hel 1. This is further indicated by the book painting of the two production units (Parts I–II).

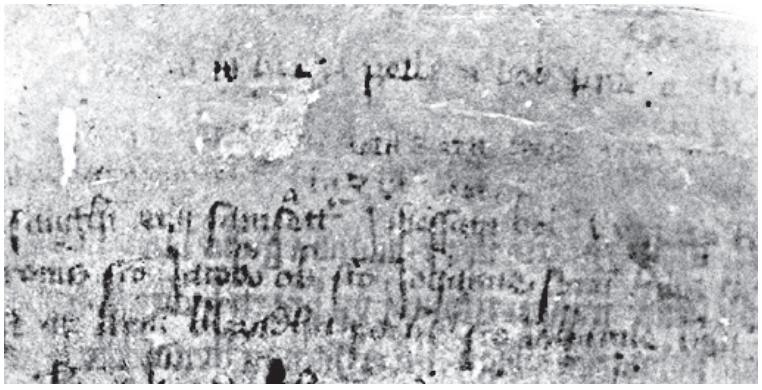

Figure 74. 'Ownership note', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 239 fol., f. 1^{r}. 1400. Picture by Beeke Stegmann using a Multi-Spectral Scanner. Reproduced with permission.

The Illuminations of AM 239 fol.

In contrast to the variety of texts, AM 239 fol. is sparsely illuminated. The first section, written by H Hel 1, includes four large initials of which the first on f. 2$^{v1–8}$ is historiated. The second part written by H Hel 7 offers only one large initial at the start of *Viðræður Gregoríusar* at f. 101$^{v14–18}$. Nevertheless, due to the defective state of the manuscript, it could be that the codex once contained more major initials at the start of each saga. The size, content, and placement of the initials are given in Table 22.

AM 239 fol. and the corresponding text in Codex Scardensis follow a similar structure, as both contain four initials at the same places in the text.[288]

280 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 40.
281 For the provenance of AM 239 fol., see Kålund, *Katalog*, 1, 207, and Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 38–40.
282 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 40.
283 *Postola sögur*, ed. by Unger, p. xii.
284 *Postola sögur*, ed. by Unger, p. xii; Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 36–37.
285 Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna', pp. 218–19.
286 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 51–52.
287 Wolf, *The Legends of the Saints*, pp. 164 and 314–15.
288 The iconography on f. 2$^{v1–8}$ in AM 239 fol. is not comparable with the respective ornamented main initial in SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis) on f. 40$^{va9–17}$. Furthermore, the beginning of *Jakobs saga* in Codex Scardensis is depicted by a historiated initial,

Table 22. Major initials in AM 239 fol.

Size	Letter	Text	Chapter	Iconography
Part I				
Fol. 2^{v1-8}	A	*Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*	Beginning of *Jóns saga*	The Annunciation
Fol. 8^{r12-16}	A		Beginning of *Jakobs saga*	*Ornamented*
Fol. 12^{r17-20}	T		28	
Fol. 16^{v8-11}	A		37	
Part II				
Fol. $101v^{14-18}$	A	*Viðræður Gregoríusar*	1	*Ornamented*

The second copy of *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*, as found in AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7, follows a different pattern and includes no major initials. Conclusively, the structural division in Codex Scardensis is more related to AM 239 fol. than to AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7, even if both draw on the same textual redaction as AM 239 fol. Also, on stylistic terms, AM 239 fol. is more closely related to other manuscripts written by H Hel 1, the main hand of AM 239 fol. The structural difference between AM 239 fol., AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7, and Codex Scardensis is well supported in the style of the book painting, since the pen-flourishing in AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7 provides stylistic references to Codex Scardensis.[289]

Despite the number of initials in AM 239 fol., the first production unit written by H Hel 1 provides only a limited variety of colours. Apart from the historiated initial on f. 2^{v1-8}, which is painted in several colours, the other main and small initials are only painted in two colours (light blue and light red). A similar use of Romanesque leaf and blossom ornamentation in AM 239 fol. and DAM, AM 233 a fol., *œufs-de-grenouille*, shows a clear connection. The restricted use of colours is found in both manuscripts, some of which appear most frequently in Skarðsbók as well (Figures 75–77). Still, AM 239 fol. shows a reduced variety of ornamentation, which mirrors the simplified use of colours from both parts of AM 233 a fol. Accordingly, a change of book painter is clearly seen in the historiated initials found in AM

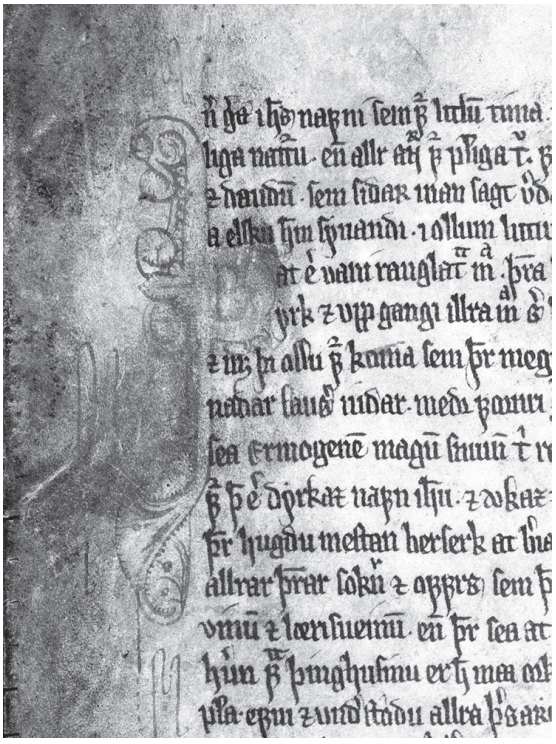

Figure 75. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 239 fol., f. 11^{v5-6}. 1360.

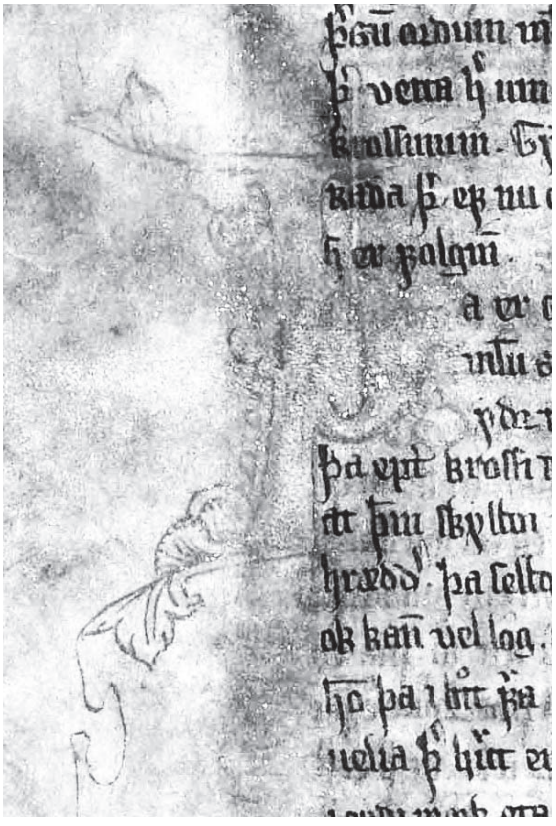

Figure 76. 'Minor initial', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. $29^{va31-33}$. 1375. Reproduced with permission from Den Arnamagnæanske Samling.

while Chapter 28 is likewise introduced with a large, ornamented initial (f. 50^{rb1-6}). The same is found in Chapter 37 (f. $53^{ra33-37}$). In addition, Codex Scardensis depicts in the later part of *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs* three medium-sized unhistoriated initials (on f. $70^{vb27-30}$, f. $73^{rb28-31}$, and f. 73^{vb6-9}), which are unmatched in AM 239 fol. due to its incomplete state today. It is possible that initials similar in both size and style were once part of AM 239 fol. as well.

289 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 25, and Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 167–68.

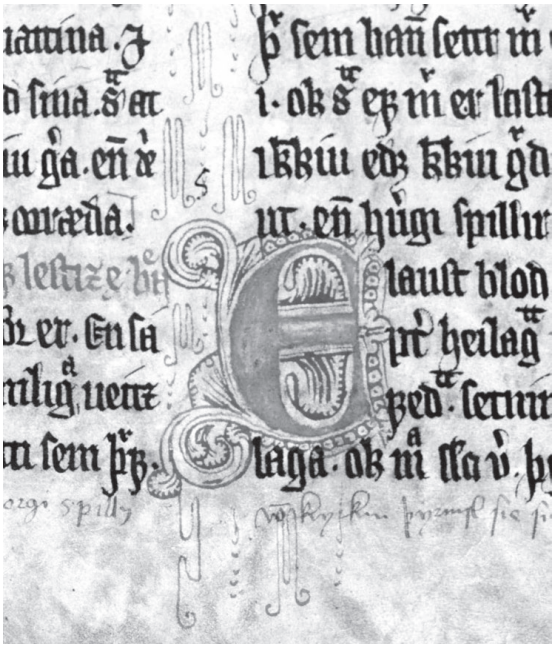

Figure 77. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 109$^{rb25–27}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

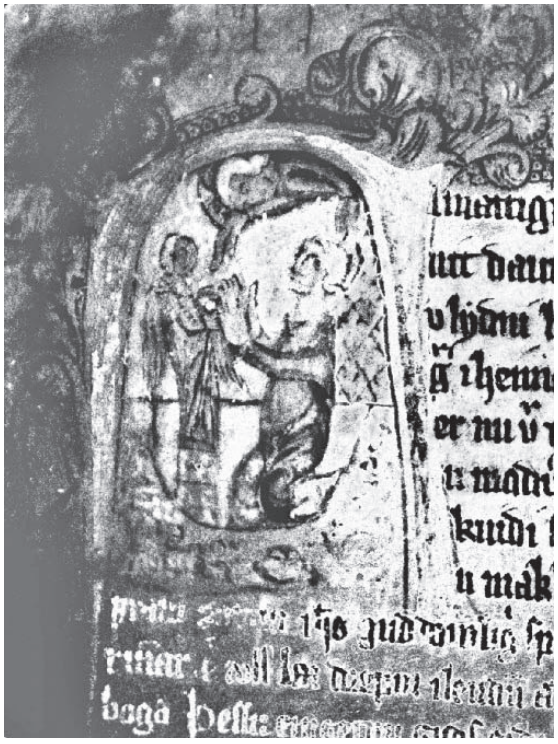

Figure 78. 'Annunciation', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 239 fol., f. 2$^{v1–8}$. 1360. Picture by Beeke Stegmann using a Multi-Spectral Scanner. Reproduced with permission.

233 a fol., SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), and AM 239 fol., since they provide not only a more advanced range of colours, but also show an advanced understanding of the techniques of the text–image references. Unfortunately, the single historiated initial in AM 239 fol. on f. 2$^{v1–8}$ is badly worn, but the general iconography is still recognizable (Figure 78).

Situated before a marble leaf or fleur-de-lis green-and-black chequered background, the initial depicts a rather unusual version of the Annunciation. Related to Luke 11. 28–29, the second chapter of *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs* describes the Annunciation independently:[290]

> Þessa mey Mariam kyss himnakonungrinn af ollum dætrum Israelis til þeirar virðingar at veita hans eingetnu liosi sky manndomsins, at usyniligr guð i sinni natturu megi samtempraðr hennar holldi syniligr verða monnum æ iarðriki. Þvi er guðs engill Gabriel sendr til nefndrar iungfru i Nazareth boðandi henni meðr hialparkveðiu Ave Maria, hversu himneskan ævǫxt ok blezaðan hun mundi getandi verða.
>
> [From all daughters of Israel this maiden Mary is chosen by the king of heaven for the honour to give to his only begotten light the cloud of human form so that the invisible god in his nature may, in the Communion with her flesh, become visible to mankind on the earthly kingdom. For this reason, the angel of God, Gabriel, is sent to the aforenamed young woman in Nazareth, proclaiming to her with the song of help Ave Maria, what heavenly and blessed fruit she will bear.]

It is apparent that the scene in AM 239 fol. follows the text very closely. Both Mary and Gabriel are shown with their typical gestures, but the depiction of the third figure above is rather unusual. Christ, in the 'cloud of human form', is depicted before a white cloud, seemingly blessing Mary and Gabriel below. This feature of the Annunciation iconography is unusual. Yet, a similar technique of adding text-related contents to iconographic images is also found on f. 2$^{rb17–22}$ in Skarðsbók, as previously discussed. In terms of text–image relationships, it is clear that both manuscripts follow the textual content closely, rather than copying iconographic models.

A likely example of the iconographic model used for the initial in AM 239 fol. could be found on f. 23$^{ra26–36}$ in the later Helgafell codex DAM, AM

290 The section is only known from SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis) and taken from *Postola sögur*, ed. by Unger, pp. 540–41.

Figure 79. 'Rebecca praying', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 225 fol., f. 23$^{ra26–36}$. 1400. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Figure 80. 'Ornamentation', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 239 fol., f. 45^{v}. 1370.

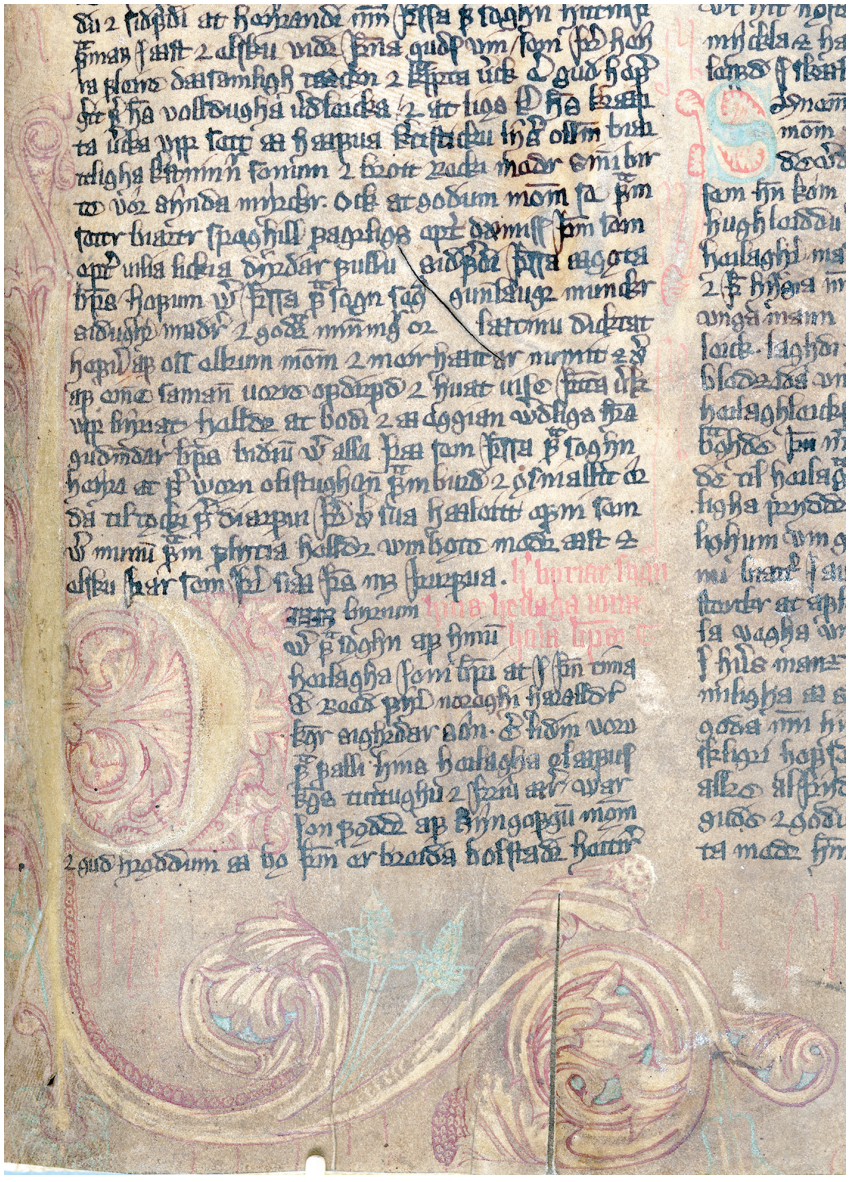

Figure 82. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 239 fol., f. 41$^{v9–10}$. 1370.

Figure 81. 'Foliage pattern', Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, f. 48^{r}. 1370. Photo: Kungliga Biblioteket, reproduced with permission.

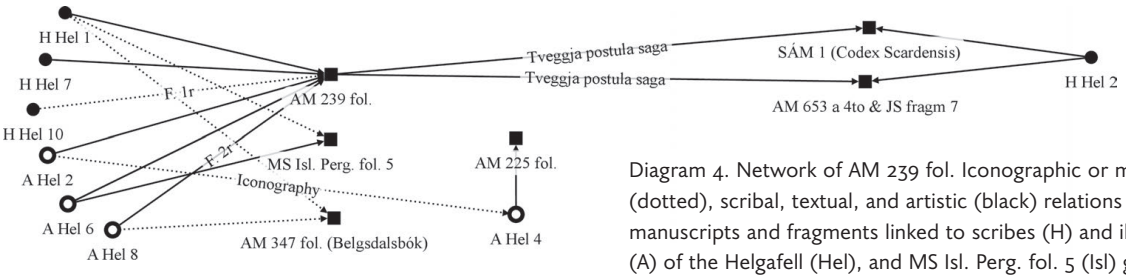

Diagram 4. Network of AM 239 fol. Iconographic or minor scribal (dotted), scribal, textual, and artistic (black) relations between manuscripts and fragments linked to scribes (H) and illuminators (A) of the Helgafell (Hel), and MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 (Isl) groups.

225 fol. (Figure 79), depicting Rebecca praying.[291] In comparison to the initial in AM 239 fol., the gesture and bulky appearance of the kneeling woman, and especially the similarly depicted divine figure above, appear to be related. It seems likely, therefore, that the initial in AM 225 fol. draws on a similar model to that used to create the initial in AM 239 fol. Due to the rather bulky versions of Mary and God, in contrast to the skinny figure of Gabriel, the initial in AM 239 fol. suggests that it is a combination of two images. This is supported by the fact that this unusual depiction of the three divine figures is otherwise unknown in both medieval Iceland and Continental Europe. The style in which Gabriel is painted appears to be strongly related to the figural style of the works of A Hel 8, the book painter of the first production unit of a law codex from the Helgafell network, SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók). This is indicated in the skinny appearance of the figure and its rounded face with 'peppercorn eyes' (see Figure 98, below). As is discussed below, Belgsdalsbók was produced in three distinctive stages: The first stage, most likely finished around *c.* 1350, includes all historiated book painting, and it may be that the contribution made by A Hel 8 to the initial in AM 239 fol. some ten years later could be due to the writing of the second section of Belgsdalsbók at just that point in time. By the end of the 1360s, the Helgafell scribe H Hel 1 contributed a number of folios to the still unfinished manuscript, which made up the final production unit of this law codex.

The fleur-de-lis-patterned background and the general appearance of the figures in AM 239 fol. generally seem to relate to other Helgafell manuscripts. A further connection may be visible in the background of f. 2^{v1-8} in AM 239 fol., with the red outlines and the arched eyebrows of the figures in the same initial, and the ornamentation of the major initials in Skarðsbók (see Figure 35, above).[292] As for the foliage patterns, an exchange of models clearly took place, thus leading to the illumination of these two initials. The figures appear less related on stylistic terms, since AM 239 fol. displays a much bulkier form, and this is infrequent in the slender, elegant figures known from Skarðsbók. At the same time, the figural style appears to be particularly close to the figures in the major initials in AM 233 a fol. It thus is highly likely that apart from the Gabriel figure of f. 2^{v1-8}, the illuminator A Hel 2 was responsible for both manuscripts, 239 fol. (ff. 1^{v}–35) and AM 233 a fol.[293]

The following production unit (Part II) in AM 239 fol., written by H Hel 7, is more colourful and is of a different artistic quality.[294] It was certainly not illuminated by the scribe himself.[295] Rather, it is likely that A Hel 6, the sole illuminator of KB, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, was responsible for the book painting of this section, as both the ornamentation and selection of colours are particularly close with respect to their artistic quality. For example, a model for floral ornamentation painted in the margins in AM 239 fol. closely mirrors parts of a similar ornamentation on one of the major initials of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 (Figures 80–81). Furthermore, the white-yellowish fillings and overall ornamentation of a small initial in AM 239 fol. suggest the same use of similar colours, and potentially a similar illuminator (Figure 82).

In conclusion and as indicated in Diagram 4, both the different use of colours in the minor initials and the close text–image references suggest that AM 239 fol. and Skarðsbók were illuminated by three book painters in total, each of whom followed the

291 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 104.
292 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 163.
293 It is less likely that all three manuscripts were illuminated by a single book painter, as proposed by Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 167–68. Rather, the painting was executed by the illuminator A Hel 2 in both parts of AM 233 a fol. and in the first production unit of AM 239 fol. The advanced ornamentation of AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), on the other hand, has been painted exclusively by A Hel 1 (the 'Helgafell Master').
294 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 165.
295 *Sögur úr Skarðsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. 149; Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 165 and 172.

Table 23. Textual content, scribes, and dating of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5. The underlined parts show the second production unit, the parts in italics parts that are related to Helgafell.

Gathering	Folios	Production Unit	Text	Text Length	Hand (H)	Date
1 (8)	Ff. 1–8	I	*Guðmundar saga byskups*	Ff. 1^{v}–46^{v}	H Bar 6 (ff. 1^{v}–48^{ra5}), H Isl 7 (rubrics on ff. 1^{v}–48^{r})	1347–60
2 (8)	Ff. 9–16					
3 (8)	Ff. 17–24					
4 (8)	Ff. 25–32					
5 (8)	Ff. 33–40					
6 (8)	Ff. 41–48		*Guðmundar drápa*	Ff. 46^{v}–48^{r}		
7 (8)	Ff. 49–56	II	*Jóns saga Hólabyskups*	Ff. 48^{r}–58^{v}	H Isl 1 (f. $48^{ra7–rb}$)	1360–70
					H Isl 2 (ff. 48^{v}–64^{r}), H Isl 6 (rubrics on ff. 48^{v}–58^{r})	
					H Hel 1 (f. 54^{ra23}, f. $57^{ra5–8}$)	
8 (8)	Ff. 57–64		*Byskupatal*	Ff. 58^{v}–60^{v}	H Isl 6 (Ff. 58^{v}–68^{v})	
9 (7)	Ff. 65–71		*Þorláks saga helga*	Ff. 60^{v}–68^{v}		
					H Isl 3 (ff. 64^{v}–68^{vb31})	
		III	*Játvarðar saga*	Ff. 68^{v}–71^{r}	H Isl 4 (ff. $68^{vb32–71r}$)	1360–70
					H Isl 5 (f. $70^{ra1–3}$)	

Note: For literature on the dating of all sections, see Table 1.

textual presettings very closely and changed iconographic models according to the text rather freely. This is also the case with AM 233 a fol., which was written by H Hel 1, the same hand as (most of) the other two codices.

Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5

The *Byskupa sögur* codex KB, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 is a key example of the wider network outside of Helgafell in *c*. 1360–70. The codicological and textual content of the codex are both complex and, at the same time, reveal working methods of several scriptoria outside of Helgafell. Nevertheless, a number of philological and art-historical features of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 provide secure evidence that the latter half of the codex was produced in the vicinity of the Augustinian convent, if not at the monastery itself.[296] MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 mainly includes *Postola sögur*, which contains the *vitae* of the Icelandic bishops and saints Jón Ǫgmundarson (1052–1121), Þorlákr Þórhallsson (1133–93), and Guðmundr Arason (1161–1237) respectively, together with a short prose poem, a *drápa*, on Guðmundr Arason. In addition, a *Postulatal*, a list of bishops and abbots, of the wider Niðaróss archdiocese is found in the codex, as well as the short *Játvarðar saga*, a vernacular version of the *vita* of Edward the Confessor (*c*. 1003–66). The codex has been dated to roughly *c*. 1347–70 and can be divided into three production units (Table 23).

As indicated in Table 23, the first unit was written by a single scribe, H Bar 6, who wrote *Guðmundar saga byskups* and *Guðmundar drápa* in *c*. 1347–60. After these two texts were written, H Bar 6 also wrote (or co-wrote) the *Árna saga byskups* fragment SÁM, AM 220 VI fol., as well as ff. 70–94 in the *Sturlunga saga* codex SÁM, AM 122 a fol. (Króksfjarðarbók) shortly after MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5.[297] Apart from the first part in MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, H Bar 6 is otherwise little related to the following two production units, since he originated from a different workshop.[298]

296 For the palaeographic and orthographic work of the seven scribes and two rubricators of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, together with investigations into what is known about the early modern provenance and intertextual connections to other manuscripts, see *Byskupa sǫgur* (1978), ed. by Jón Helgason, pp. 7–10; *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 45–47; *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, pp. 127–80; and *Postulatal*, ed. by Foote.

297 Stefán Karlsson and Peter Foote have suggested that due to an orthographic development between the two manuscripts and one fragment written by H Bar 6, a temporal change in orthography is found. MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 has been considered to be the oldest of the three manuscripts, followed by AM 220 VI fol. and AM 122 a fol. (Króksfjarðarbók). See *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 46, and *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, pp. 159 and 160–61.

298 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 46. The site of production of the first unit of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 has been debated.

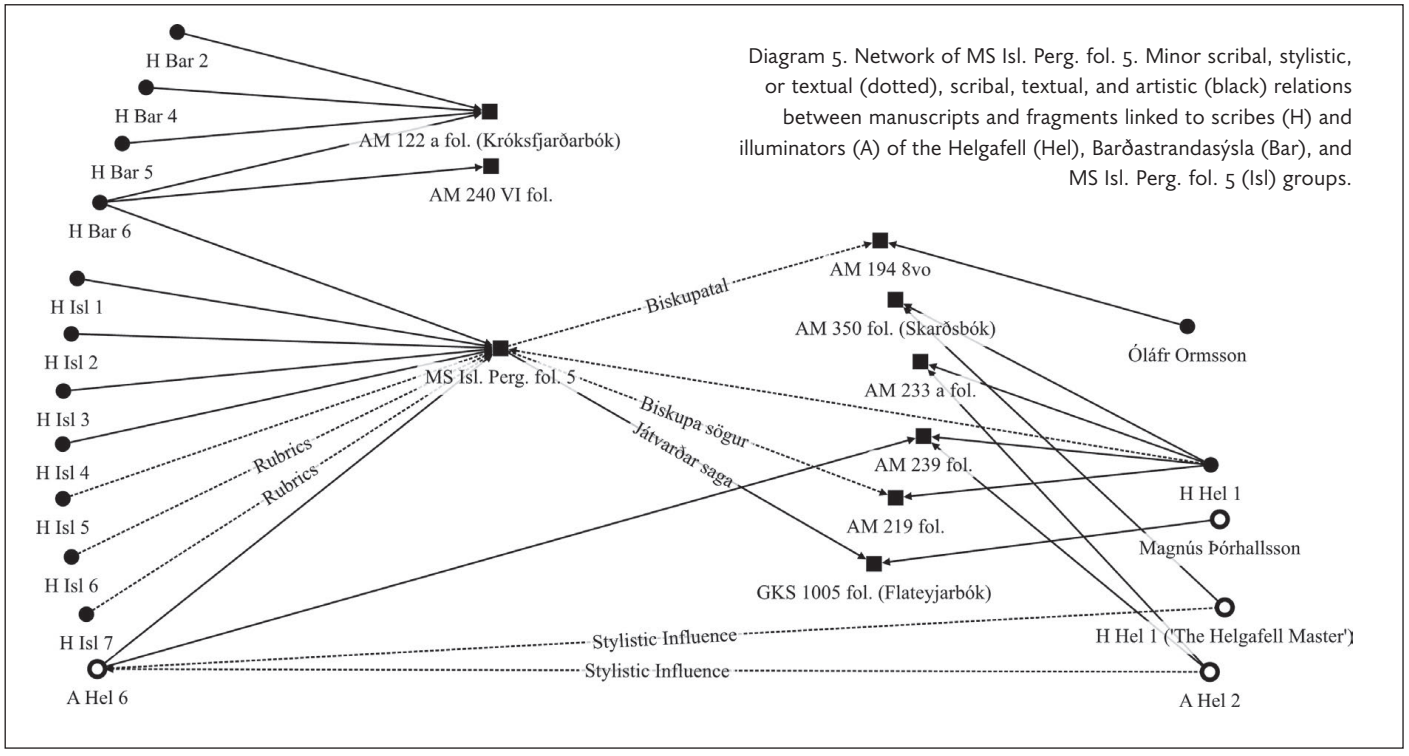

Diagram 5. Network of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5. Minor scribal, stylistic, or textual (dotted), scribal, textual, and artistic (black) relations between manuscripts and fragments linked to scribes (H) and illuminators (A) of the Helgafell (Hel), Barðastrandasýsla (Bar), and MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 (Isl) groups.

This group was previously assumed to have been situated at the northern part of Breiðafjörður in Barðastrandasýsla,[299] where the first production unit of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 was likely also written (see Map 2, above).[300] In the following second unit, the three hands H Isl 1, H Isl 2, and H Isl 3 worked closely together in one scribal context on *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, *Byskupatal*, and *Þorláks saga helga* in *c.* 1360–70.[301] It is this unit in particular that is closely related to the Helgafell workshop. Not only does H Hel 1 appear in two short instances, the orthography of one of the main scribes of this section, H Isl 3, also closely resembles that of H Hel 1.[302] At the same time, *Guðmundar saga byskups* and *Jóns saga Hólabyskups* from sections one and two, respectively, refer to a common archetype present in a manuscript written at Helgafell by H Hel 1 some ten years later: the bishops' saga codex AM 219 fol.[303] This indicates that the text in the first production unit of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 is also related to texts used in Helgafell. Finally, SÁM, AM 194 8vo, an encyclopaedic manuscript written in 1387 by the priest Óláfr Ormsson, includes a version of *Byskupatal* closely related to the same text included in the second production unit of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5.[304] Óláfr lived at Geirrǫðareyri (now Narfeyri), which is located just south of Helgafell. As a consequence, the two first sections refer to workshops once located in the vicinity of the Augustinian house, prior to and after the production.

The final production unit of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 was then added somewhat contemporaneously to the last unit in *c.* 1360–70 by yet another scribe, H

Jón Helgason has suggested that a number of textual references indicate that the codex was possibly written at the Augustinian monastery at Þykkvibær in southern Iceland. See *Byskupa sǫgur* (1950), ed. by Jón Helgason, p. 10. This was later refuted by Stefán Karlsson and Peter Foote due to the provenance of the two other manuscripts written by H Bar 6 which suggest a western Icelandic scriptorium. See *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 45–46, and *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, p. 159. AM 122 a fol. (Króksfjarðarbók) includes three other scribes, one of whom was the main scribe of the so-called Barðastrandasýsla group to be discussed in relation to SÁM, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis).

299 *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. xliii.

300 *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, p. 156. This is further indicated by a number of orthographic peculiarities of H Bar 6: he uses similar expressions in MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 as the scribe of the so-called *Helgafellártíðaskrá*, an obituary part of the codex Copenhagen, Københavns Universitetsbibliotek, Membr. Res. 6, whose first half up to the year 1244 has been suggested to originate from Helgafell or nearby, and which was used for a manuscript by one of the scribes from the Barðastrandasýsla group. For a discussion on the origin of *Helgafellártíðaskrá*, see Stefán Karlsson, 'Alfræði Sturlu Þórðarsonar', and the conclusion to this book.

301 *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, pp. 177–78.

302 *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, p. 160.

303 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 14; *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, pp. 180–84.

304 *Postulatal*, ed. by Foote, pp. 171–73. For the dating of AM 194 8vo, see *Alfræði íslenzk*, ed. by Kålund, p. ii.

Table 24. Miniatures and major initials of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5.

Size	Letter	Text	Chapter	Iconography
Full-Page Miniature		*Guðmundar saga byskups*		Guðmundr Arason and Jón Ǫgmundarson or St Þorlákr Þórhallsson
F. 1$^{vb19–23}$	A	*Guðmundar saga byskups*	1	*Ornamented*
F. 48$^{ra43–50}$	Þ	*Jóns saga Hólabyskups*	1	
F. 60$^{va10–18}$	Þ	*Þorláks saga helga*	1	

Figure 83. 'Two bishops', Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, f. 1^{r}. 1370. Photo: Kungliga Biblioteket, reproduced with permission.

Figure 84. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 67$^{ra17–19}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Isl 4, who again originated from a different school.[305] Similar to the short addition made by H Hel 1 to the second production unit, this section also contains a short addition of a further hand, H Isl 5.[306] Despite a number of orthographic differences between H Isl 4 and those from the previous sections, this part of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 is also related to Helgafell: the single text of this section, *Játvarðar saga*, is particularly close to the same saga text in the second production unit of SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók),[307] albeit with a modernized spelling.[308] As discussed, this part was written by Magnús Þórhallsson who was responsible for the book painting of the Helgafell-internal codex DAM, AM 226 fol. In conclusion and as shown in Diagram 5, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 provides a number of personal, palaeographic, and textual links with the internal Helgafell workshop in all of its three production units. At the same time, due to few scribal contributions made by H Hel 1, it is unlikely that MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 was directly produced at Helgafell.

In addition to the various textual and personal relationships, a number of art-historical connections link MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 with Helgafell.[309] MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 was painted by two illuminators, who used similar ornamental models to those used by the book painters responsible for the illuminations of DAM, AM 233 a fol. and SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), A Hel 2 and the 'Helgafell Master'. MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 includes a historiated miniature and three ornamented major initials.

Similar to AM 233 a fol., the whole codex starts with a full-page miniature (Figure 83), in which two saintly bishops are depicted, indicated by their halos. The identity of the figures remains unclear, but due to the textual content introduced at this point, one is most likely St Guðmundr while the other represents either St Jón or St Þorlákr.[310] Nevertheless, their clerical endowments display small differences, which lead to the figure on the left being more embellished: the gemstones on the mitre, the adorned garment, *parurae*, episcopal sandals, and stole, as well as the featured maniple on the right arm mean that the figure on the left side stands out. Other details, such as the ecclesiastical rings, the crosiers, the *amictus*, and the chasubles, are the same for both figures. The maniple in particular may indicate a particular episode of suffering and hardship, but there is little in the three bishops' sagas featured in MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 that indicate the depicted figure as a particular bishop.

Stylistic references in the miniature suggest the use of similar facial expressions as those found in the faces depicted in various minor initials in Skarðsbók (Figure 84).[311] In addition, the shading of the folds, the facial expressions, as well as the stylized, fleur-de-lis and cross-shaped leaf patterns on the *amictus* and *parurae* of the chasubles indicate facial and ornamental models similar to the ones used for Skarðsbók (see Figure 3 and Figure 27, above) and for the frame corners of the miniature in AM 233 a fol. (see Figure 4, above).[312] At the same time, differences in the depictions of voluminous, highlighted hair in MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 are visible compared with the miniature of AM 233 a fol., since the hair in the latter clearly relates to a more archaic, less voluminous form, otherwise unknown from medieval Icelandic book painting. Furthermore, the hands in MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 are larger and more refined than in the miniature in AM 233 a fol. Yet, both images

305 *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, p. 178.
306 *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, p. 180.
307 *Byskupa sǫgur* (1950), ed. by Jón Helgason, p. 21.
308 Fell, 'The Icelandic Version'.
309 For previous studies on the book painting of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, see Selma Jónsdóttir, 'Gjafamynd í íslenzku handriti', p. 14; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 24; and Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 46–51.
310 *Byskupa sǫgur* (1950), ed. by Jón Helgason, p. 7.
311 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 46.
312 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 46.

Figure 85. 'Extensions of small initials', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. $12^{rb14–16}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Figure 86. 'Extensions of small initials', Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, f. 22^{r}. 1370. Photo: Kungliga Biblioteket, reproduced with permission.

are closely related to the book paintings of AM 233 a fol. and to Skarðsbók, notably due to the related fillings of the halos, which suggests the use of similar facial models.

The three ornamented large initials in MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 seem to be more closely related to the book painting in AM 233 a fol. than to Skarðsbók and to contain a number of typical stylistic features of AM 233 a fol., such as the strings of beads and *œufs-de-grenouille* (Figures 85–86). In addition, the unusual use of dark red for the ornamentation and the general style of the Romanesque models for the fillings also seem to originate from a similar work setting as that of AM 233 a fol. At the same time, the floral ornamentation of the letter extensions in MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 shares only distant formal qualities with an initial in Skarðsbók (see Figure 11, Figure 41, and Figure 81, above). Accordingly, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 was illuminated by a single craftsman, here termed A Hel 6, who had access to facial and ornamental models used at Helgafell. It is impossible to identify when exactly the miniature in MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 was painted. Although it is part of the oldest production unit, it was possibly painted together with the other illuminations in the production units, as both the variety of colours and ornamental models of these two sections are clearly connected. At the same time, the second production unit of SÁM, AM 239 fol. was painted by the same A Hel 6 and AM 233 a fol. was illuminated by A Hel 2, both of which share ornamental models with Skarðsbók. Thus, the stylistic references of the miniature in MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 also fit well with the time frame of the two internal Helgafell manuscripts. This addition did not happen at the scriptorium at which H Bar 6, the first scribe of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, worked: no stylistic features shared with the book paintings of the two other manuscripts written by him can be found, nor with other manuscripts from the same workshop in the north of Breiðafjörður. Rather, this contribution must have been made near to or even at Helgafell after these first forty-eight leaves of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 were transferred to the south of Breiðafjörður. Upon arrival, A Hel 6 seems to have worked on them with the three scribes H Isl 1, H Isl 2, and H Isl 3 in *c.* 1360–70. Supporting this, the division of gatherings and the contributions of several rubricators suggest that MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 remained unbound until the third production unit was finished.[313]

313 The illuminator A Hel 6 seemed to have worked independently on the first two production units, since the rubrics of the whole codex were contributed by two further scribes, H Isl 6 and H Isl 7. These rubricators are not connected to the contributions made by A Hel 6 at or near to Helgafell, as the rubrics and illuminations are found in various parts of the two first production units. At the same time, the third production unit only displays unornamented small initials that were possibly painted by the main hand of this section, H Isl 4. Accordingly, H Isl 6 contributed the rubrics in the part that H Isl 3 wrote, as well as the ones of H Isl 2. H Isl 7 only wrote the rubrics of *Guðmundar saga biskups*, which was written by H Bar 6 entirely. This suggests that H Isl 7 wrote with H Bar 6 in *c.* 1347–60, while H Isl 6 contributed his rubrics in *c.* 1360–70.

Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 325 X 4to & AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to

Like many of the manuscripts written by H Hel 1, the next manuscript containing kings' sagas is extant in a very fragmentary state. It is found in the two shelf marks AM 325 X 4to & AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to (both DAM), dated to *c.* 1370. Unfortunately, the provenance of all related leaves is unknown prior to the seventeenth century.[314] Furthermore, little research has been dedicated to this once very impressive codex.[315] Both fragments are written in two columns and consist together of fifteen folios. Their size varies, but two of the leaves of AM 325 X 4to are considerably larger and measure 300 × 220 mm, with thirty-four lines in each of the columns, which was possibly the size of all leaves of the original codex. Due to the worn state of the folios, most of them are no longer legible. This is the case for f. 7, f. 10, and f. 13 of AM 325 X 4to. The single leaf of AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to has been trimmed, and only the first eight lines of each of the two columns remain. Due to this trimming, the size of the leaf is very small, only 77 × 203 mm.

The remaining text passages found in the two fragments describe a royal Norwegian history from the beginning of King Sverrir Sigurðarson's rise in the mid-twelfth century to the reign of Magnús *lagabætir* Hákonarson in 1263–80 and thus belong to the so-called contemporary kings' sagas.[316] The content of the two fragments is given in Table 25.[317]

Due to its incomplete state, it is no longer possible to reconstruct the original length of *Magnúss saga Hákonarsonar*, since it is only found in AM 325 X 4to. Considering that it is unknown whether the original codex once included more sagas, it would be logical to argue that the codex was intended to depict the whole civil war era of Norway (*c.* 1130–1240). It is likely that the redaction of *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* found in AM 325 X 4to is related to the lost archetype used for the same saga in Flateyjarbók.[318] This means that, apart from the scribal link, the two fragments AM 325 X 4to & AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to are loosely related on a textual basis to the wider Helgafell workshop, too. Both *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* and *Magnúss saga Hákonarsonar* were written by the western Icelandic saga-writer and politician Sturla Þórðarson in the thirteenth century, mentioned in Chapter 2, and *Magnúss saga Hákonarsonar* does indeed show similarities to annals used by Sturla.[319]

The remaining book painting of the original manuscript is found in some of the leaves of AM 325 X 4to. It includes pen-flourished small initials in red and dark blue, as well as red rubrics, which are featured in both fragments. As in all other Helgafell manuscripts, these small initials use either red or dark blue as the colour of the initial, while the *fleuronnée* ornamentation is then executed in the other colour. In comparison with other pen-flourished initials from the Helgafell group, it is surprising that only DAM, AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi), the second kings' saga fragment written by H Hel 1, shows some similarity. Both show the same colours, and the style

Table 25. Textual arrangement of AM 325 X 4to & AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to.

Fragment	Folios	Text	Chapter
AM 325 X 4to	F. 1	*Sverris saga*	27–29
	F. 2		33
AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to	F. 1		28–29
AM 325 X 4to	F. 3		60–61
	F. 4		62
	F. 5		70
	F. 6		156–58
	F. 7ra		181
	F. 7$^{ra–v}$	*Hákonar saga Sverrissonar*	1
	F. 8	*Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*	150–53 (?)
	F. 9		161–64 (?)
	F. 10		209
	F. 11		320
	F. 12		323
	F. 13	*Magnúss saga Hákonarsonar*	1
	F. 14		2

314 For the provenance of AM 325 X 4to & AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to, see Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 565, and *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 19.

315 For AM 325 X 4to & AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to in relation to other Helgafell manuscripts, see *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 19 and 21.

316 Contemporary kings' sagas tell of the lives and deeds of western Scandinavian kings of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the time in which the sagas were composed and first written down. Among the earliest kings' sagas are a number of contemporary sagas such as *Sverris saga*, as well as the latest known kings' sagas *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* and *Magnús saga Hákonarsonar*.

317 The chapter divisions are taken from *Fornmanna sögur*, VIII, ed. by F. Magnússon and Rafn, pp. xvii–xxvii (fragm. 2–5, 7, 10, 14); *Fornmanna sögur*, IX, ed. by F. Magnússon and Rafn, pp. ix and xvii–vii (fragm. 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9); and *Fornmanna sögur*, X, ed. by F. Magnússon and Rafn, pp. v–vi (fragm. 1, 2).

318 *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, ed. by Mundt, pp. xii–xiii.

319 Hermann Pálsson, *Eftir þjóðveldið*, pp. 60–61; Stefán Karlsson, 'Alfræði Sturlu Þórðarsonar'; Sverrir Jakobsson, 'Codex Reseniani'.

Figure 87. 'Small initial', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi), f. 3$^{va19–21}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Figure 88. 'Small initial', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 325 X 4to, f. 8$^{ra31–33}$. 1370.

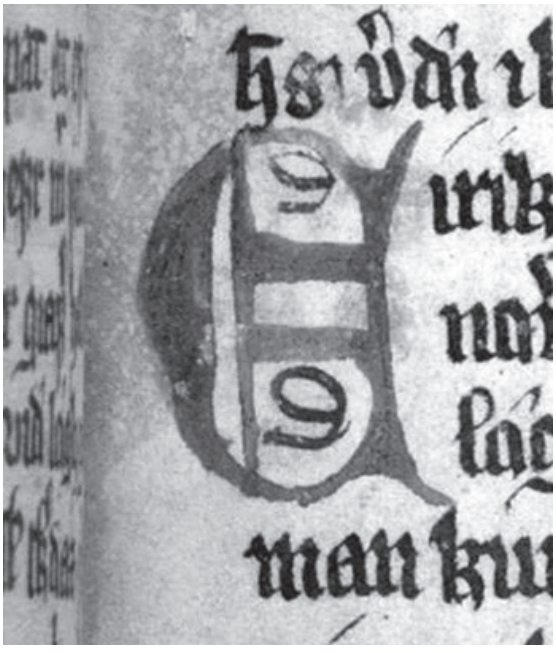

Figure 89. 'Lombardic capital letter', Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34, f. 105$^{ra18–20}$. 1370. Photo: Kungliga Biblioteket, reproduced with permission.

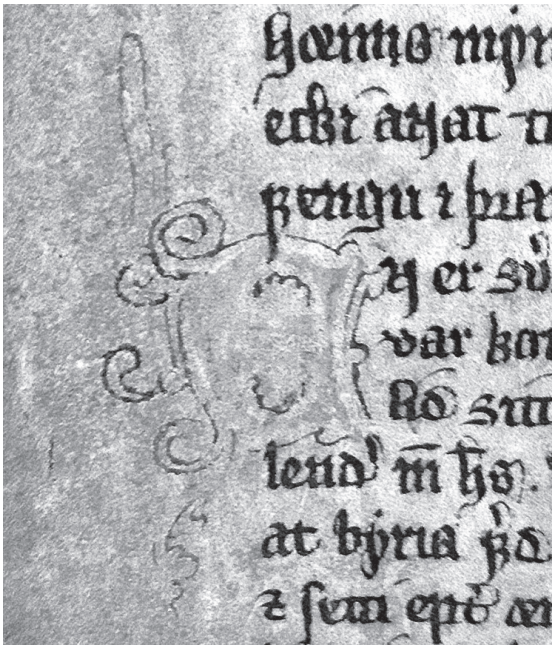

Figure 90. 'Lombardic capital letter', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 325 X 4to, f. 3$^{va10–20}$. 1370.

of the initial letters is also similar (Figures 87–88). Furthermore, most of the Lombardic capital letters 'E' with two bars are displayed in both AM 325 X 4to, and the next manuscript partly written by H Hel 1, KB, MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34 (Figures 89–90). Such capital letters appear in the Helgafell network otherwise only in the second production unit of SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), to be discussed below.

Table 26. Gatherings and textual arrangement of MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34.

Gatherings	Folios	Text	Text Length	Date	Hand
Production Unit III					
1 (7)	Ff. 1–7	*Gulaþingsgerð Kristinréttar yngri* (shortened)	Ff. 1^{r}–7^{r7}	1350–1400*	Hand d
		On the importance of Eden and on perjury (excerpt)	F. $7^{r12–21}$	1400	Hand e
		Oaths: Oath of a steward (*ráðmaðr*) (f. $7^{v1–8}$), oath of a bailiff (f. $7^{v9–17}$), oath of a jury (f. $7^{v18–23}$)	F. 7^{v}		
Production Unit I					
2 (8)	Ff. 8–15	***Frostuþingslǫg Landslaganna***	Ff. 8^{r}–75^{r14}	1275–1300	Eiríkr Þrónðarson
3 (8)	Ff. 16–23				
4 (8)	Ff. 24–31				
5 (8)	Ff. 32–39				
6 (8)	Ff. 40–47				
7 (8)	Ff. 48–55				
8 (8)	Ff. 56–63				
9 (8)	Ff. 64–71				
10 (8)	Ff. 72–79	***Bœjarbok Bjǫrgvinjar***	Ff. 75^{r15}–84^{v20}		
11 (8)	Ff. 80–87	***Farmannalǫg***	Ff. 84^{v21}–90^{r}		
12 (3)	Ff. 88–90				
Production Unit II					
13 (8)	Ff. 91–98	**Law amendments**: *Samþykkt nefndarmanna* (f. $91^{ra1–11}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (14.6.1314, ff. 91^{ra12}–92^{va25}), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (23.6.1305, ff. 92^{va26}–93^{rb5}), *Um byggingar á konungs jarði* (f. $93^{rb6–va23}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (28.8.1315, 'Um ódadamenn setjask heim í byggðum', ff. 93^{va24}–94^{ra13}), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (1306(?), 'Bréf Hákonar konungs um félags gerð', f. $94^{ra14–rb25}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (26.12.1309, 'Um eiginhagsmunir sýslumanna', f. $94^{rb26–va25}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (25.11.1315, 'Um bréfabrot konungs', f. $94^{va26–vb23}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (2.5.1313, 'Um sókn ok áfrýjun', ff. 94^{vb24}–95^{ra4}), *Bæjarbók Bjǫrkvinjar* (1276, *Þjófabálkr* ch. 8, 'Hversu maðr skal ransaka eptir', f. $95^{ra5–29}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (28.3.1318, 'Um erfð ættleiðings', f. $95^{ra30–va4}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (2.5.1313, 'Um erfð', f. $95^{va5–vb29}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (29.5.1303, 'Um heitan', ff. 95^{vb30}–96^{rb30}), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (11.10.1303, 'Um handgengna manna brot ok eiða', f. $96^{rb31–vb4}$), *Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (23.6.1310, 'Ef men koma eigi til lǫgþingis eða briota á lǫgþingi ok eigi bœta', ff. 96^{vb5}–97^{ra21}), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (29.5.1303, 'Um handgengnir menn ok byskupsmenn sem eigi vill gera leiðingr', f. $97^{ra22–va12}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (5.3.1304, 'Skipan um vápnaburð', f. $97^{va13–vb25}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (29.5.1303, 'Um ribbalda ok landhlaupara', ff. 97^{vb26}–98^{rb6}), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (8.12.1315, 'Um kleiðaskurð', f. $98^{rb7–29}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (30.7.1316, 'Um kaupfarar', ff. 98^{rb30}–99^{ra7}), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (15.11.1316, 'Um kaup fundar í byggðum' (Oslo), ff. 99^{ra8}–100^{rb7}), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (3.11.1318, 'Um varðhýsi ok þingvottar', f. $100^{rb8–vb9}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (24.8.1299, 'Réttarbætr Hákonar konungs ok staðfestu bréf', f. $100^{vb10–26}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (9.[/16.?].9.1302, 'Um konungserfð ok stjórn', ff. 100^{vb27}–103^{vb19}), *Réttarbætr Hákonar konungs Magnússonar* (9.2. & 11.6.1302, 'Hversu herlenskir menn ok utlenskir skulu skipa upp varningi sinum i garði ok norðr um Bjǫrgvin eða til skattlanda', ff. 103^{vb20}–104^{va25}), *Réttarbót Eiríks konungs Magnússonar* ('Um stefnr', ff. 104^{va26}–105^{ra16}), *Réttarbót Eiríks konungs Magnússonar* (1280, 'Skipan Eiríks konungs', ff. 105^{ra17}–106^{ra11}), *Réttarbót Eiríks konungs Magnússonar ok hertugs Hákonar Magnússonar* ('Um krǫfr prestanna', f. $106^{va12–vb24}$), *Réttarbót Eiríks konungs Magnússonar ok hertugs Hákonar Magnússonar* (14.5.1290, 'Um at hinn forni kristinréttr skuli vera í gildi', ff. 106^{vb25}–107^{ra}), *Réttarbót Eiríks konungs Magnússonar* (9.3.1295, 'Um aðstæðr í Bjǫrgvin', f. $107^{rb–vb22}$), *Réttarbót Eiríks konungs Magnússonar* (16.9.1282, 'Eiríks bréf um staðar rétt', ff. 107^{vb23}–109^{va18}), *Réttarbót Magnúss konungs Eiríkssonar* (19.7.1320, 'Um forréttindi Bjǫrgvins', ff. 109^{va19}–110^{rb2}), *Réttarbót Hákon konungs Magnússonar* (1308/09, 'Um provasta ok byskups menn', ff. 110^{rb3}–111^{ra1}), *Réttarbót Hákon konungs Magnússonar* (1974, 'Um úbótamál', subsection 11 to the concluding *Réttarbót* of *Landslǫg*, f. $111^{ra2–29}$), *Réttarbót Magnúss konungs Hákonarsonar* (for Frostaþing, 1273(?), f. $111^{ra30–vb15}$), *Réttarbót Hákonar konungs Hákonarsonar* (1260 [?], ff. 111^{vb16}–112^{ra29}), *Ákvæði kardínál Nikuláss um gjafir* (1224, f. $112^{ra30–rb21}$), *Kristinréttr Jóns erkibyskups* (1277, 'Um skipptrov', f. $112^{rb22–vb11}$).	Ff. 91^{ra}–112^{vb11}	1370	H Hel 1; H Hel 14 (rubrics)
14 (8)	Ff. 99–106				
15 (8)	Ff. 107–14		Ff. 112^{vb12} –128^{ra}		
16 (7)	Ff. 115–21	***Hirðskrá***			
17 (7)	Ff. 122–28				

* For literature on the dating of all sections, see Table 1.

Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34

The next example written by H Hel 1, KB, MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34, a manuscript containing a number of Norwegian juridical texts, provides a potentially international sample of the scribe's œuvre. MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34 is today a composite manuscript consisting of three production units, the second of which features texts written by H Hel 1 (Table 26).

The provenance of all sections is unknown until the late sixteenth century.[320] As is apparent from Table 26, only the second production unit was written by H Hel 1. Despite a difference in the mise-en-page, the second production unit must have been put together with the third production unit as early as *c.* 1400, since a similar Norwegian scribe is found on f. 7 and in the margins of f. 95^{v}, as well as elsewhere in the second production unit.[321] This hand has been dated to *c.* 1400 and suggests a similar Norwegian provenance for the units by that time.[322] It might well be that the second production unit by H Hel 1 was even written in Norway in *c.* 1370, since there are a great number of Norwegianisms in the orthography used by H Hel 1 here, suggesting Norwegian textual models.[323] H Hel 1 wrote in the second production unit a large number of Norwegian and two Icelandic law amendments (*Réttarbætr*), four sections from the Norwegian *Kristinréttr Jóns erkibiskups* (and the incorporated third statute of Archbishop Eilífr of Niðaróss from 1320), as well as a complete redaction of the thirteenth-century Norwegian *Hirðskrá*. In addition, sections from the town law *Bæjarlǫg*, *Frostaþingslog Landslaganna*, and the *Landslǫg*-concluding *Réttarbót* by King Magnús Hákonarson are found in this production unit. Most of these texts provide a particular focus on royal concerns, and while regional peculiarities of several of the *Réttarbætr* may specify its use to Bergen, a number of references to Oslo and Tønsberg assume a use in the east and, more numerously, to *Frostuþing* and *Hálogaland* in the north. In either way, the textual composition of this production unit, particularly the part containing *Réttarbætr* and sections of *Bæjarlǫg* and *Landslǫg*, indicate a well-read compiler in secular and ecclesiastical legal writing of medieval Norway and Iceland (see Table 26).[324]

A text-related connection to a more specific part of Norway apart from the mentioned *Frostuþing* is also not found in the first production unit, the oldest part of MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34, although a generalized version of the town law of Bergen, *Bæjarlǫg Bjǫrgvinjar* is featured,[325] amongst other texts. The *Landslǫg*-redaction written by the scribe of the first production unit, Eiríkr Þrónðarson, relates to *Frostuþing* at the Trondheimsfjord in Trøndelag, Central Norway. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the scribe, apart from that his orthography indicates a north-western Norwegian provenance.[326] Furthermore, it is unknown whether the three production units of MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34 always belonged together, although the generalized *Bæjarbok Bjǫrgvinjar* and the following maritime law *Farmannalǫg* in the first production unit, as well as some Bergen-specific *Réttarboetr* in the second unit, indeed suggest an initial use of MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34 at Bergen or the western Norwegian coastline, at least by 1400 when the second and third production units were used by that otherwise unknown scribe.[327]

The second production unit in MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34 displays neither historiated initials nor much

320 For the provenance of MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34, see *Katalog*, ed. by Gödel, pp. 100–101, and *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, pp. 672 and 667–71. The dating is taken from *Katalog*, ed. by Gödel, p. 97, and Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', p. 348. In addition to the provincial laws, nine paper leaves were added to the beginning of Isl. Perg. 4:o 34. They were written by three hands, among others by the later owner Pros Lauritssen in the late sixteenth century. For the later provenance, see *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, pp. 667–68, and *Katalog*, ed. by Gödel, p. 98.

321 Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', p. 348. Unlike the first and third production units, the second unit includes two columns with thirty-two lines each; the first and third production units only include twenty-four, twenty-six, and twenty-eight lines.

322 Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', p. 348.

323 *Katalog*, ed. by Gödel, p. 100; Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', p. 349.

324 For a description of the content of ff. 91ra–112^{vb11}, see *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, pp. 670–71. For centuries, the medieval Norwegian legal landscape consisted of provincial laws that at times date as far back as the eleventh century. Generally, four of these regional laws are known (*Gulaþingslǫg hinn eldri*, *Borgarþingslǫg hinn eldri*, *Frostuþingslǫg hinn eldri*, and *Eiðsífaþingslǫg hinn eldri*), and it was only in 1250, in a phase of (re)compilation ordered by King Hákon Hákonarson (1204–63), that a likely unification of these laws was issued. In 1267–68, the son of King Hákon, King Magnús Hákonarson, ordered further renewed versions of *Gulaþingslǫg*, *Borgarþingslǫg*, and *Eiðsífaþingslǫg*, until in 1274–76 a final revision of all provincial laws was finalized and accepted, combining them into a single codex entitled the Code of the Norwegian Realm (*Landslǫg*). The regional laws of *Landslǫg* comprise law assemblies at Gulaþing in the west, Borgarþing in the south-east, Eiðsívaþing in the east, and Frostuþing in the north near Niðaróss. For a concise introduction to the establishment of *Landslǫg* and the previous provincial laws, see Strauch, *Mittelalterliches Nordisches Recht bis ca. 1500*, pp. 108–39, 148–56.

325 *Kong Magnus Håkonsson Lagabøtes Landslov*, ed. by Rindal and Spørck, I, 28.

326 Skaug, 'En undersøkelse av lydverket', p. 129.

327 Gustav Storm in *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, 672, has previously suggested that it was only in 1588 that all three production units of MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34 were bound together for Pros Lauritssen.

additional ornamentation on the various minor and small initials. Following a brief stylistic comparison, it emerges that each section was illuminated by a different illuminator. Only one main initial is found in the second production unit: a large Þ-letter painted on f. 112^{vb} at the beginning of *Hirðskrá* (Figure 91). The similarity in size and form between this initial and that at the start of the same text in SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók) (see Figure 41, above), together with the similarity in extending the initial into the lower margin, might indicate that the initial in the Norwegian fragment was intended to resemble that in Skarðsbók. Due to the absence of historiated content and ornamentation in the marginalia, no further suggestions regarding a similar painter can be made. Still, it is reasonable to conclude that H Hel 1 was responsible for the painting of the main initial letter in MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34. This conclusion only extends to this initial, as the rubrics in the respective texts of MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34 were written by an unknown, potentially Norwegian, scribe, H Hel 14.

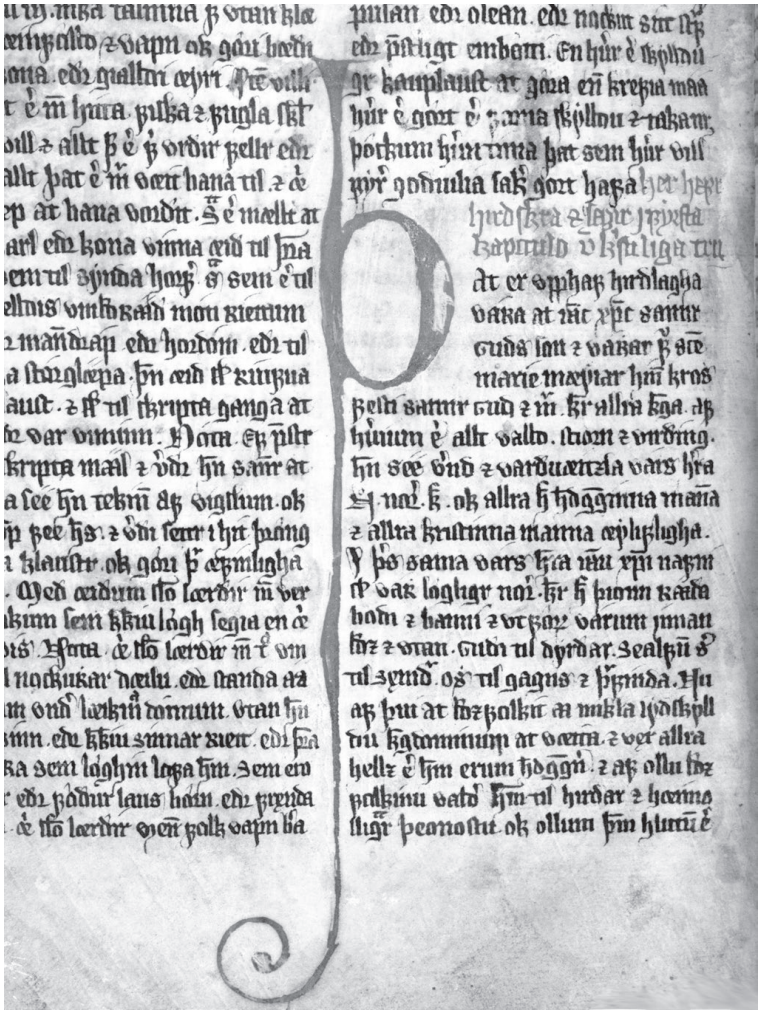

Figure 91. 'Major initial', Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34, f. 112^{vb}. 1370. Photo: Kungliga Biblioteket, reproduced with permission.

Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók)

After SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), the law manuscript SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók) is the second of three manuscripts from the Helgafell network to include the vernacular law *Jónsbók*. At the same time, it includes several philological and iconographic features otherwise unknown from the group. For instance, H Hel 8, one of the three scribes in Belgsdalsbók, wrote the first production unit of the Norwegian law manuscript Copenhagen, Kongelige Biblioteket, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus) in *c.* 1350–60.[328] Despite a clear focus on secular textual content in these two law manuscripts, the selection of partly Christian-iconographic models in Belgsdalsbók and Codex Hardenbergianus suggest that H Hel 8 was active in ecclesiastical settings during his time as a scribe in *c.* 1350–70. H Hel 8 wrote most parts of the first production unit of Belgsdalsbók alone, although on some occasions he was assisted by a further scribe, H Hel 9. Since the sections written by H Hel 9 appear rather periodically in short insertions to the text, it is likely that H Hel 9 only appeared on single days at the scriptorium where H Hel 8 worked and then collaborated on the writing.

Measuring 273 × 290 mm, Belgsdalsbók is an average-sized codex in comparison to the relatively large manuscripts from the Helgafell group. It consists of ninety-eight leaves, written entirely in two columns, each with thirty-two lines. The manuscript is only slightly defective: apart from the first and the last leaves, all folios are legible despite their rather worn condition. Because these two represent the first and last folios, it may be assumed that Belgsdalsbók always consisted of the same gatherings and was bound after it was finished in *c.* 1370. The dating of the three production units varies, as does its division of gatherings (Table 27).[329]

328 AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók) and GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus) will be discussed in Chapter 4. Philological studies on Belgsdalsbók include Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 282–83; *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, pp. 532–33; *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xlii; Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande'; and Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, *Af fornum lögum og sögum*, pp. 20–25 and 71–78.

329 Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande', pp. 167 and 178.

Table 27. Dating and scribal contributions to AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók).

Production Unit	Date	H Hel 8	H Hel 9	H Hel 1
I	*c.* 1350	Ff. 1^{ra}–27^{ra}		
			F. $27^{rb1–18}$	
		Ff. 27^{rb18}–40^{ra15}		
			F. $40^{ra16–32}$	
		Ff. 40^{rb}–41^{rb8}		
			F. $41^{rb9–22}$	
		F. $41^{rb23–32}$		
			F. $41^{va1–13}$	
		F. $43^{va14–rb}$		
			F. 43^{vb}	
		Ff. 44^{ra}–77^{va}		
			F. 77^{vb}	
		F. $78^{ra–rb12}$		
			F. $78^{rb13–26}$	
		Ff. 78^{rb27}–79^{ra}		
			F. 79^{rb}	
		F. 79^{va}		
			F. $79^{vb1–12}$	
		F. $79^{vb13–32}$		
			F. 80^{ra}	
		F. $80^{rb–va}$		
			F. 80^{vb}	
		F. 81^{ra}		
			F. 81^{rb}	
		F. 81^{va}		
			F. 81^{vb}	
		F. $82^{ra–va}$		
			F. 81^{vb}	
		F. $82^{ra–va}$		
			F. 82^{vb}	
		F. $84^{ra–vb7}$		
			F. $84^{vb8–23}$	
II	*c.* 1360–70	Ff. 85^{ra}–94^{va}		
III	*c.* 1370			Ff. 94^{vb}–98^{vb}
Note: For literature on the dating of all sections, see Table 1.				

The provenance of Belgsdalsbók is unknown prior to the sixteenth century.[330] Its production, however, can be explained through the production of Codex Hardenbergianus. It is very likely that H Hel 8 began to work on Belgsdalsbók and finished the first eleven gatherings in the 1350s (Table 28).[331] Shortly after, in the 1350s, he wrote the oldest production unit of Codex Hardenbergianus on ff. 1–59, and in the late 1360s, he finished the second production unit in Belgsdalsbók. It is likely that while Belgsdalsbók was written in Iceland, Codex Hardenbergianus is a Norwegian product. This is seen in the orthography of H Hel 8: upon his return to Iceland, his handwriting changed and shows more Norwegianisms than in the first part of Belgsdalsbók.[332] Finally, upon completion of the second production unit of Belgsdalsbók, the internal Helgafell scribe H Hel 1 added missing sections of the third statute of Archbishop Eiríkr of Niðaróss to the last leaves of the manuscript in *c.* 1370, thus turning these last leaves into a third production unit of the codex. The change of scribes within the final gathering was probably contemporary with the second part, as this gathering was still unbound. In contrast, the first production phase in the 1350s ends after the fourteenth gathering, and as a table of contents of the codex on ff. 4^{va}–8^{ra16} suggests, it does not initially seem to have been planned to feature more texts.[333] That the lines ruled in ink appear only in the first production unit of Belgsdalsbók supports this.

Like the slightly later Helgafell law book Skarðsbók, Belgsdalsbók is rich in content and includes a wide selection of mainly ecclesiastical laws from the early thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century.[334] Despite the variety of sources used for Belgsdalsbók, it is little related to the content of Skarðsbók. The *Jónsbók* redactions are significantly different in both manuscripts: the uninterpolated *Jónsbók* section of Belgsdalsbók is connected to SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to, a *Jónsbók* manuscript that served as a model for some of the major initials in Skarðsbók.[335] With regard to the oldest text in Belgsdalsbók, Chapter 1 of *Grágás*, the so-called *Kristinna laga þáttr*,[336] Belgsdalsbók

330 For the known provenance of AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), see *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Jónsbók*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 10, and Bera Nordal, 'Lögbókarhandrítið Gks. 1154 I folio íslenskt handrit?', pp. 164–65.

331 Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande'. See also *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, I, ed. by Jón Sigurðsson, pp. 117–20.

332 Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande', p. 178.

333 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, I, ed. by Jón Sigurðsson, p. 119.

334 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 282–83, and Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande', p. 182.

335 *Kaupabálkr* in the *Jónsbók* section of AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók) follows the respective section of *Jónsbók* in the codex SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to closely, while the *Farmannalǫg* section is more related to the manuscript SÁM, GKS 3268 4to. Both codices have been discussed in relation to the book paintings of SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók) and DAM, AM 226 fol.; see *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xlii.

336 The Christian law section *Kristinna laga þáttr* is part of *Grágás*, the law of the Icelandic Commonwealth up to 1262–64. They are possibly based on twelfth-century Church laws made by the

Table 28. Gatherings and textual arrangement of AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók).

Gatherings	Folios	Text	Text length
1 (8)	Ff. 1–8	***Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar*** (chs 26–35)	Ff. 1^{ra}–4^{rb20}
		Table of Contents (covering the texts *Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar*, *Jónsbók*, *Réttarbót Eiríks konungs Magnússonar*, *Kristinna laga þáttr*)	Ff. 4^{va}–8^{ra16}
2 (8)	Ff. 9–16	***Jónsbók***	Ff. 8^{rb}–64^{va5}
3 (8)	Ff. 17–24		
4 (8)	Ff. 25–32		
5 (8)	Ff. 33–40		
6 (8)	Ff. 41–48		
7 (8)	Ff. 49–56		
8 (6)	Ff. 57–62		
9 (8)	Ff. 63–70	Epilog (*Jónsbók*)	F. $64^{va6–29}$
		Réttarbót Eiríks konungs Magnússonar (2.7.1294)	Ff. 64^{vb}–66^{rb24}
10 (8)	Ff. 71–78	***Kristinna laga þáttr*** (*Grágás*, ch. 1)[a]	Ff. 66^{va}–84^{v}
11 (6)	Ff. 79–84		
12 (8)	Ff. 85–92	(mainly) **statutes**: *Skipan Eilífs erkibyskups hin þriðja* (1320, 'Um presta stefnu' (excerpt), ff. 85^{r}–86^{rb5}), *Skipan Eilífs erkibyskups hin þriðja* (1320 (excerpt), ff. 88^{rb6}–87^{va14}), *Skipan Páls erkibyskups* (1336 (1346?), ff. 87^{va15}–90^{va9}), *Skipan Jóns erkibyskups* (July 1280, ff. 90^{va10}–94^{va}), *Um bannsverk* (Bishop Árni Þorláksson, 1281, f. $94^{vb1–13}$), *Skipan Eilífs erkibyskups hin fyrsta* (1320, ff. 94^{vb14}–95^{va11}), *Þessum málum má eigi appelera* (1281, f. $95^{va12–vb7}$), *Skipan Eilífs erkibyskups hin þriðja* (1320 (excerpt), ff. 95^{vb8}–98^{vb})[b]	Ff. 85^{ra}–98^{vb}

[a] For the content and chapter division of *Grágás*, see *Grágás*, ed. by Gunnar Karlsson, Kristján Sveinsson, and Mörður Árnason.

[b] On the textual division of *Skipan Eilífs erkibyskups hin þriðja* in AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), see *Norges Gamle Love*, III, ed. by Keyser and Munch, pp. 268–70.

is related to the two mid- to late twelfth-century *Grágás* manuscripts SÁM, GKS 1157 fol. (Konungsbók Grágásar) from *c.* 1250–1300 and SÁM, AM 334 fol. (Staðarhólsbók Grágásar) from *c.* 1271–1300. Both belong to the western Icelandic, thirteenth-century Kringla manuscript group.[337] The importance of including this outdated text in a fourteenth-century compendium may mirror an ongoing political conflict over the *staðarmál* of Icelandic parish churches.[338] This is further strengthened by the content of the initial text of Belgsdalsbók, the final ten chapters of the ecclesiastical Church law of the Icelandic bishop Árni Þórláksson (1237–98), *Kristinréttr Árna Þorlákssonar*, which regulate the tithe and ownership of the churches, among others.[339]

Belgsdalsbók displays a rather different textual composition from that found in Skarðsbók. Although the texts *Um bannsverk*, *Þessum málum má eigi appelera*, and parts of *Skipan Eilífs erkibyskups hin þriðja*, which the scribe H Hel 1 contributed to Belgsdalsbók, are also found in Skarðsbók, the structure and partly the content of *Skipan Eilífs erkibyskups hin þriðja* is significantly changed in Belgsdalsbók (see Table 28 with Table 9, above). Thus, although it is likely that H Hel 1 finished this second production unit of Belgsdalsbók with a similar intention to that of H Hel 8, the overall textual composition of Belgsdalsbók is very different from Skarðsbók; this difference is also seen in the book painting.

bishops St Þórlákr Rúnólfsson (1086–1133) of Skálholt and Ketill Þórsteinsson (1075–1145) of Hólar. For a short introduction to *Grágás* and *Kristinna laga þáttr*, see Strauch, *Mittelalterliches Nordisches Recht bis ca. 1500*, pp. 224–35.

337 Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, *Af fornum lögum og sögum*, p. 72. For the Kringla manuscript group, see Chapter 4. For the dating of GKS 1157 fol. (Konungasbók Grágásar) and AM 334 fol. (Staðarhólsbók Grágásar), see Widding, 'Håndskriftanalyser', p. 75; Stefán Karlsson, 'Kringum Kringlu', p. 21; Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 275; Sigurður Líndal, 'Hvers vegna var Staðarhólsbók Grágásar skrifuð?', p. 293; and *Njáls saga*, ed. by Jón Helgason, p. ix.

338 Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, *Af fornum lögum og sögum*, p. 82. For the *staðarmál*, see Chapter 2. For the *Grágás* text in AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), see *Grágás*, ed. by Finsen, pp. 93–146.

339 For these sections, see *Járnsíða og Kristinréttur Árna Þorlákssonar*, ed. by Haraldur Bernharðsson, Magnús Lyngdal Magnússon, and Már Jónsson, pp. 176–89.

The Book Painting of AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók)

As is typical for fourteenth-century Iceland, the ornamentation of Belgsdalsbók is painted in the Romanesque style. In comparison with other manuscripts from the Helgafell group, Belgsdalsbók includes a small number of minor initials and decoration in the letter extensions and margins.[340] Small initials are particularly frequent in the first production unit and are usually rendered in one or two colours without further embellishments. Generally, the style and variety of colours vary across the manuscript: especially the second and third production units display differently painted small initials. The last folios written by H Hel 1 show one example of pen-flourishing similar to manuscripts written contemporaneously by H Hel 1 (see Figures 87–88, above, and Figure 92). In addition, the letter form of that small initial is somewhat related to small initials found in the second production unit of Belgsdalsbók.

In line with a standardized, restricted use of ornamentation and colours in the small initials, zoomorphic figures occur less frequently in Belgsdalsbók. The borders of the major initials are usually painted as vaulted elongations with sprouting twigs, which distantly resemble some of the book paintings in the contemporaneously produced DAM, AM 226 fol. (see Figure 70, above, and Figure 98, below).[341]

The inner field of the major initials is generally highlighted on a rectangular blue background similar to some of the major initials in SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), a law manuscript which served as one of the textual and stylistic models for the Helgafell law codex SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók). Belgsdalsbók again depicts the peppercorn-formed eyes beneath arched eyebrows, as previously discussed in relation to the illuminators A Hel 2 and the 'Helgafell Master'. Thus, also the slenderness of the S-shaped bodies in DAM, AM 233 a fol. and Skarðsbók is shown in Belgsdalsbók.[342] As was discussed in relation to the single historiated initial in SÁM, AM 239 fol., this may be due to personal contact between A Hel 8, the sole illuminator of the oldest production unit of Belgsdalsbók, and A Hel 2, since both contributed to the single initial in AM 239 fol. some ten years after the book painting of Belgsdalsbók was finished.

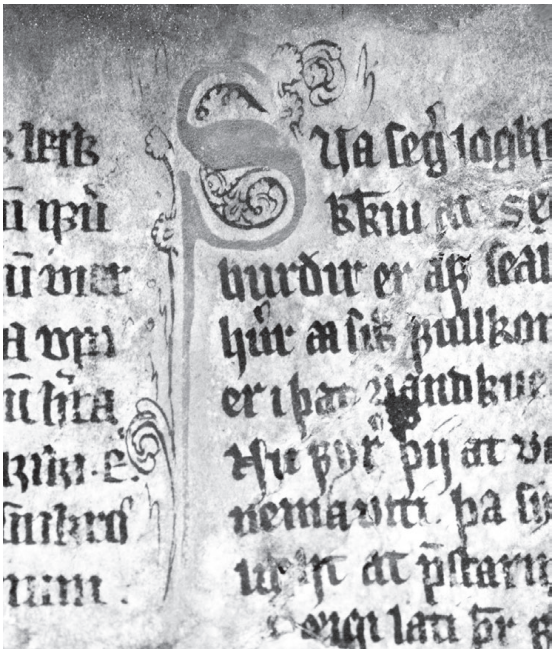

Figure 92. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), f. $94^{vb1–2}$. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Apart from the form of human figures, clothing in Belgsdalsbók, as in AM 233 a fol., is less elaborately represented than in the work of the 'Helgafell Master': for the most part, figures in Belgsdalsbók are clad in tunics, and additional fashion details are rarely shown. Belgsdalsbók includes five major initials, all of which form part of the *Jónsbók* text written in the first production unit in *c.* 1350. All are large in size, similar to the historiated initials in Skarðsbók. Major initials in Belgsdalsbók are seven to eleven lines high, apart from one exception, f. $60^{va10–14}$.[343] All major initials in Belgsdalsbók are uniformly yellow and are shown with an unframed background in blue, similar to Svalbarðsbók, as well as the Þingeyrar law manuscripts SÁM, AM 127 4to and SÁM, GKS 3269 a 4to discussed above in relation to Skarðsbók. Of all these Icelandic law manuscripts, only Svalbarðsbók appears to share iconographic images with Belgsdalsbók.[344] The historiated con-

340 The positions and sizes of minor initials in AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbóks) are as follows: f. $22^{vb1–5}$, f. $32^{ra1–6}$, f. $34^{rb16–21}$, f. $52^{ra22–25}$, f. $57^{rb14–18}$, f. $64^{vb1–4}$, and f. $66^{va3–6}$. Three leaves provide marginal scenes: f. 8^{r}, f. 12^{r}, and f. 15^{v}, while only the latter is connected to the text.

341 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 143.

342 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 56 and 64.

343 The small size of f. $60^{va10–14}$ led Lena Liepe in *Studies*, p. 52, to treat it as a minor initial. Due to the historiated content, the initial will be treated here as part of the main initial section.

344 For previous studies on the iconographic relationship between AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók) and Svalbarðsbók, see Fett, 'Miniatyrer fra islandske haandskrifter', pp. 25–27; *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 24; *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Jónsbók*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, pp. 10–11; Berg, 'The Illuminations in No. 1154 Folio', pp. 29–35; Bera Nordal, 'Lögbókarhandrítið Gks. 1154 I folio íslenskt handrit?'; Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 52–64 and 141; and Johansson and Liepe, 'Text and Images'.

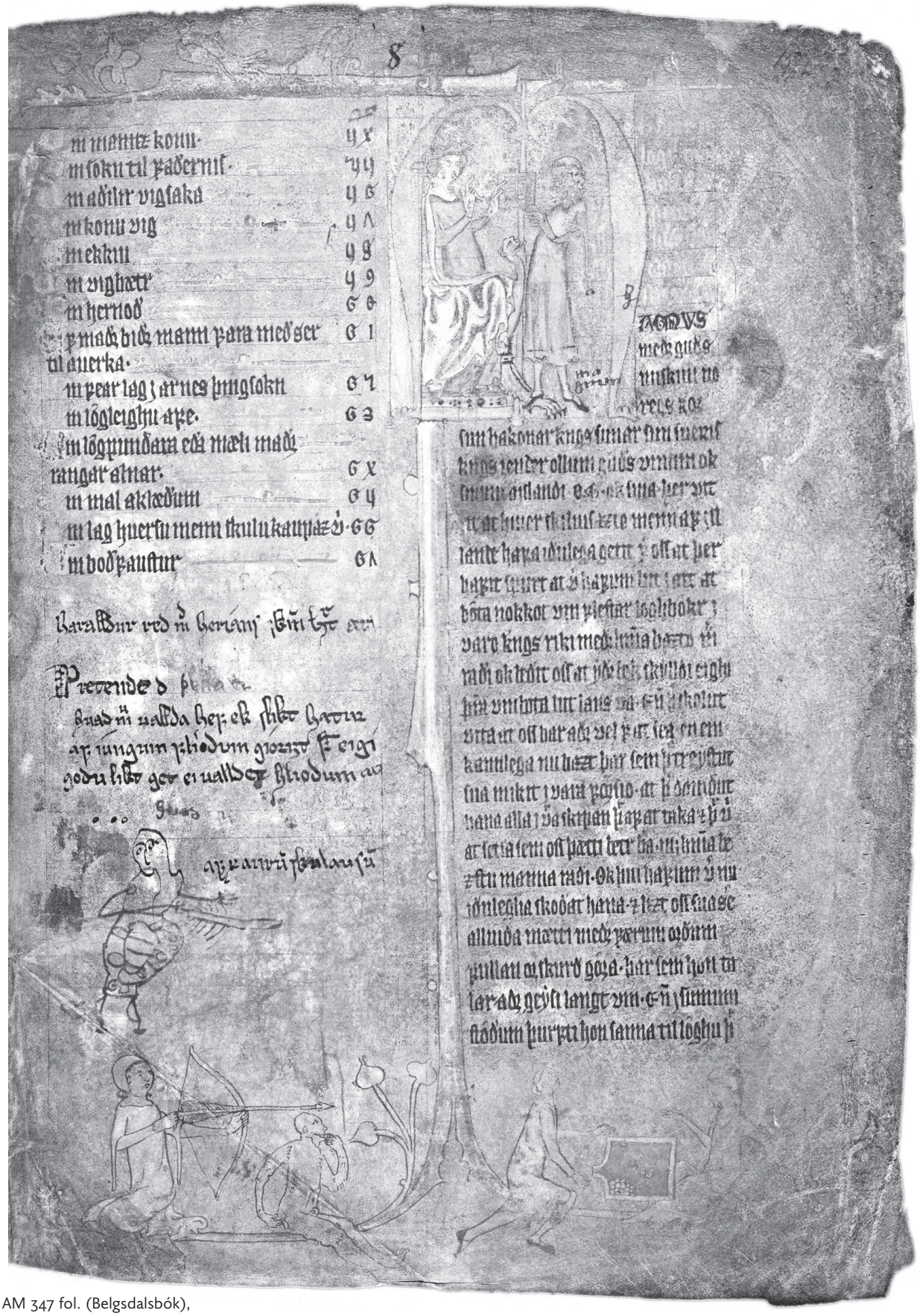

Figure 93. 'Magnús Hákonarson and Jón Einarsson', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), f. $8^{rb1–11}$. 1350. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Table 29. Historiated Book Painting in AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók).

Size	Letter	Text	Section	Iconography
F. $8^{rb1–11}$	M	*Jónsbók*	*Bréf Magnúss konungs*	King and Servant
F. $9^{rb1–7}$	F		*Þingfararbálkr*	Christ in Majesty
F. $12^{ra10–17}$	Þ		*Kristindómsbálkr*	King and Bishop
F. $15^{va15–21}$	Þ		*Mannhelgisbálkr*	Negotiation scene
F. $60^{va10–14}$	Þ		*Þjófabálkr*	Conviction scene

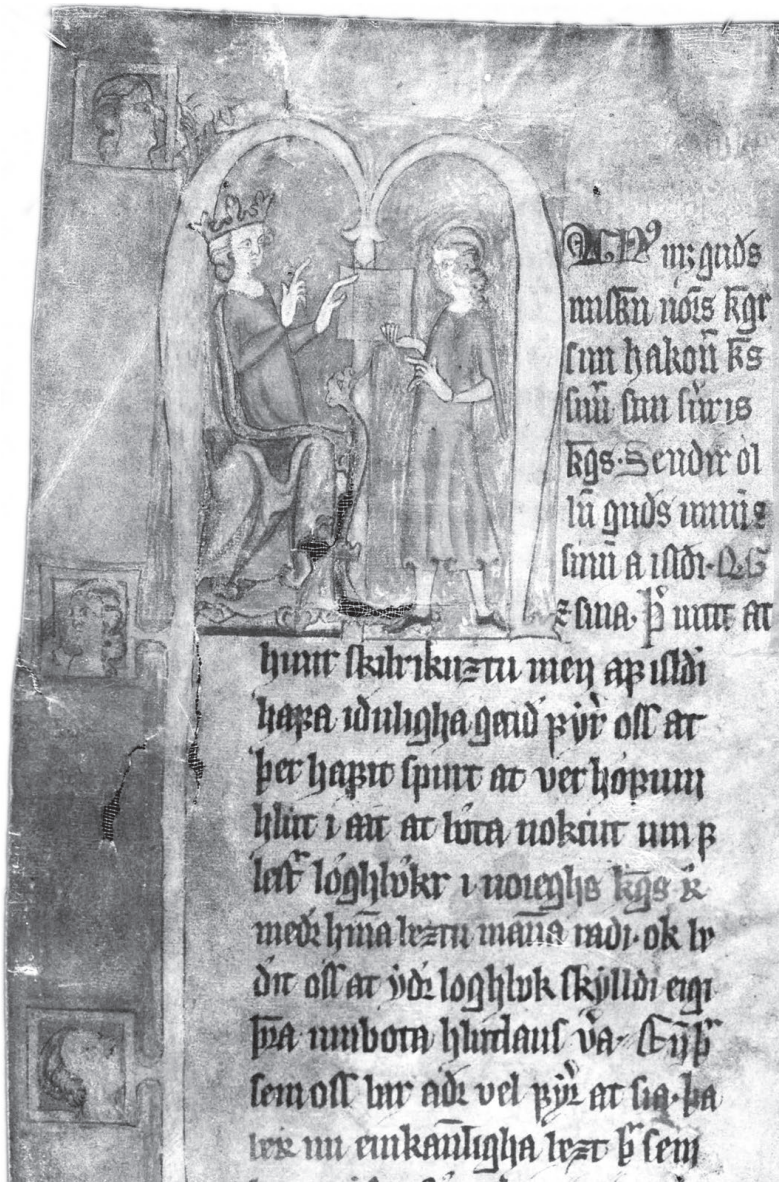

Figure 94. 'Magnús Hákonarson and Jón Einarsson', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), f. $1^{va1–10}$. 1340. Picture from https://handrit.is.

tent and position of the major initials in Belgsdalsbók are given in Table 29.

The first initial stands at the beginning of *Bréf Magnúss konungs*, the king's introductory letter to *Jónsbók*, which also offers an introduction to the visual structure of the initial (Figure 93). The text on f. $8^{va2–10}$ describes the textual content of the introduced law, as well as the historiated content of the initial:

> þo at v*er* kennin | oss miok fakunniga til slikra storræda þa | hofum v*er* þo þessa bok latit rita e*r* v*er* sen*n*du*m* | ydr meðr herra joni lǫgmanni epti*r* slikum | hætti sem hon vattar . treystandi avo*r*s he*r*ʀa | ihe*s*u xpi*st*i miskun*n ok* arnaðar orð hinnar | helgu mariu *ok* hins he*i*la*g*a olafs ko*nu*ngs ok | þei*r*ra skynsamta mannatillǫgu sem jhia | oss v*oru*.
>
> [Although we feel ourselves to be seemingly lacking in the knowledge required for such great undertakings, we have nonetheless had this book — which we send to you with Jón, the presiding judge at the Law Council — written in the form in which it presents itself, trusting in the mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the intercession of the holy Mary and the holy king Óláfr and in the contribution of those very prudent men who were with us.][345]

The author of the text characterizes the figure depicted on the right as King Magnús *lagabœtir* Hákonarson (1238–80) of Norway, whose name is introduced by the initial. King Magnús hands over the law code *Jónsbók* to the Icelandic judge Jón Einarsson (d. 1306) on the right. Jón is known to have initially brought the law to Iceland in 1280. Undoubtedly, the iconography has been painted following the same model used for the first initial in Svalbarðsbók (Figure 94).

Further down below the initial letter in Belgsdalsbók, two scenes are depicted in the margins, both of which seem to be unrelated to the text (see Figure 93). On the left, an archer is shown aiming at the second scene on the right. Next to the archer, an ape-like figure is depicted, similarly looking over to the second scene. On the right, two figures are depicted playing a board game. The game is most likely knucklebones, a board game otherwise unknown from medieval Scandinavian imagery. Both scenes may be understood as a mockery of the official, royal depiction found in the upper part of the same leaf.[346]

345 *Jónsbók*, ed. and trans. by Schulman, p. 3.
346 Drechsler, 'Marginalia', pp. 193–94.

Figure 95. 'Christ in Majesty', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), f. 9$^{rb1–7}$. 1350. Picture from https://handrit.is.

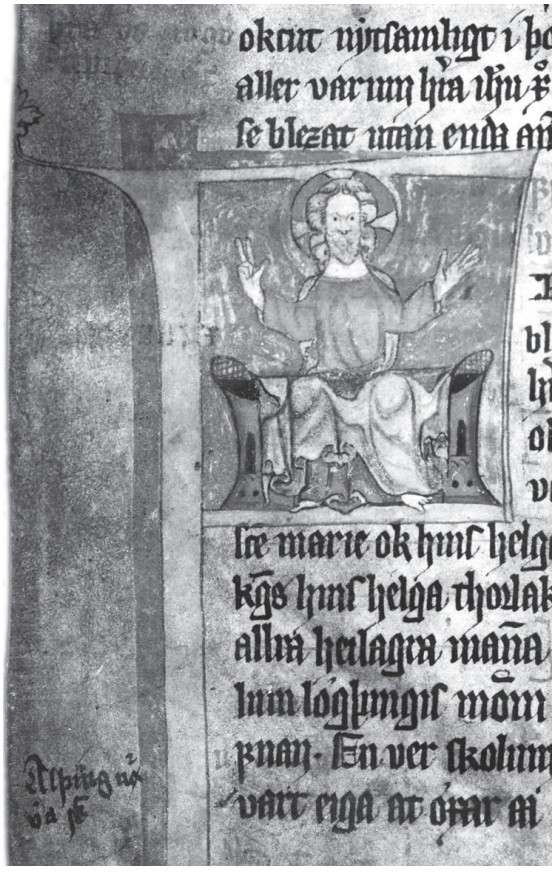

Figure 96. 'Christ in Majesty', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), f. 2$^{va16–22}$. 1340. Picture from https://handrit.is.

The second main initial in Belgsdalsbók, also painted in a similar manner as in Svalbarðsbók, is found on f. 9$^{rb1–7}$ and introduces *Þingfararbálkr*, the first main section of *Jónsbók* (Figure 95). According to its content, this section sets out the fundamental Christian beliefs on which Icelandic society is based, as well as the guidelines for the election of law speakers at the annual Icelandic Alþing. It is, therefore, not surprising that the initial depicts Christ in Majesty, although a text–image reference is not given in the text as was found in this section of *Jónsbók* in Skarðsbók discussed above. Instead, a blessing is present in the text introduced on f. 9$^{rb3–10}$ of Belgsdalsbók and refers to the content of the initial:

> Friðr ok blezan v*ors* | herra ih*es*u x*ris*ti ar | naðar orð varar | fru sancte marie | ok hins heilaga Olafs k*onun*gs þorlaks | b*yskup*s ok allra heilagra manna se m*eð* | oss aullum lǫgþingis maunnum | bæði nu ok jafnan.
>
> [May the peace and blessing of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the intercession of the holy lady Mary and the holy king Óláfr and the holy bishop Þorlákr and all the saints be with us — with us who are members of the General Assembly — now and forever.][347]

Accordingly, the initial was likely intended to represent a general blessing from Christ to the lawspeakers, whose assembly, allocation, and numbers are discussed in the law section that is introduced with this initial, as was discussed in relation to Skarðsbók. The use of the Christ in Majesty iconography for *Þingfararbálkr* is well attested in several law manuscripts that contain *Jónsbók*. Most similar is, again, a depiction in Svalbarðsbók, where a closely related model was used (Figure 96). In addition, the main textual model for Belgsdalsbók, SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to, a law manuscript that shares a number of images with Skarðsbók, provides a similar iconography to that found in Belgsdalsbók, but with no particular stylistic resemblances (see Figure 21, above).

The next historiated initial in Belgsdalsbók on f. 12$^{ra10–17}$, at the beginning of *Kristindómsbálkr* on the separation of ecclesiastical and royal powers in a Christian commonwealth, follows a rather unusual iconographic subject in medieval Iceland — indeed, though it is found again in Codex Hardenbergianus, it is otherwise unknown in fourteenth-century Iceland — and depicts the division of ecclesiastical and secular law regulations (Figure 97). In the second section of *Kristindómsbálkr* on f. 12$^{rb23–va6}$, the different

347 *Jónsbók*, ed. and trans. by Schulman, p. 7.

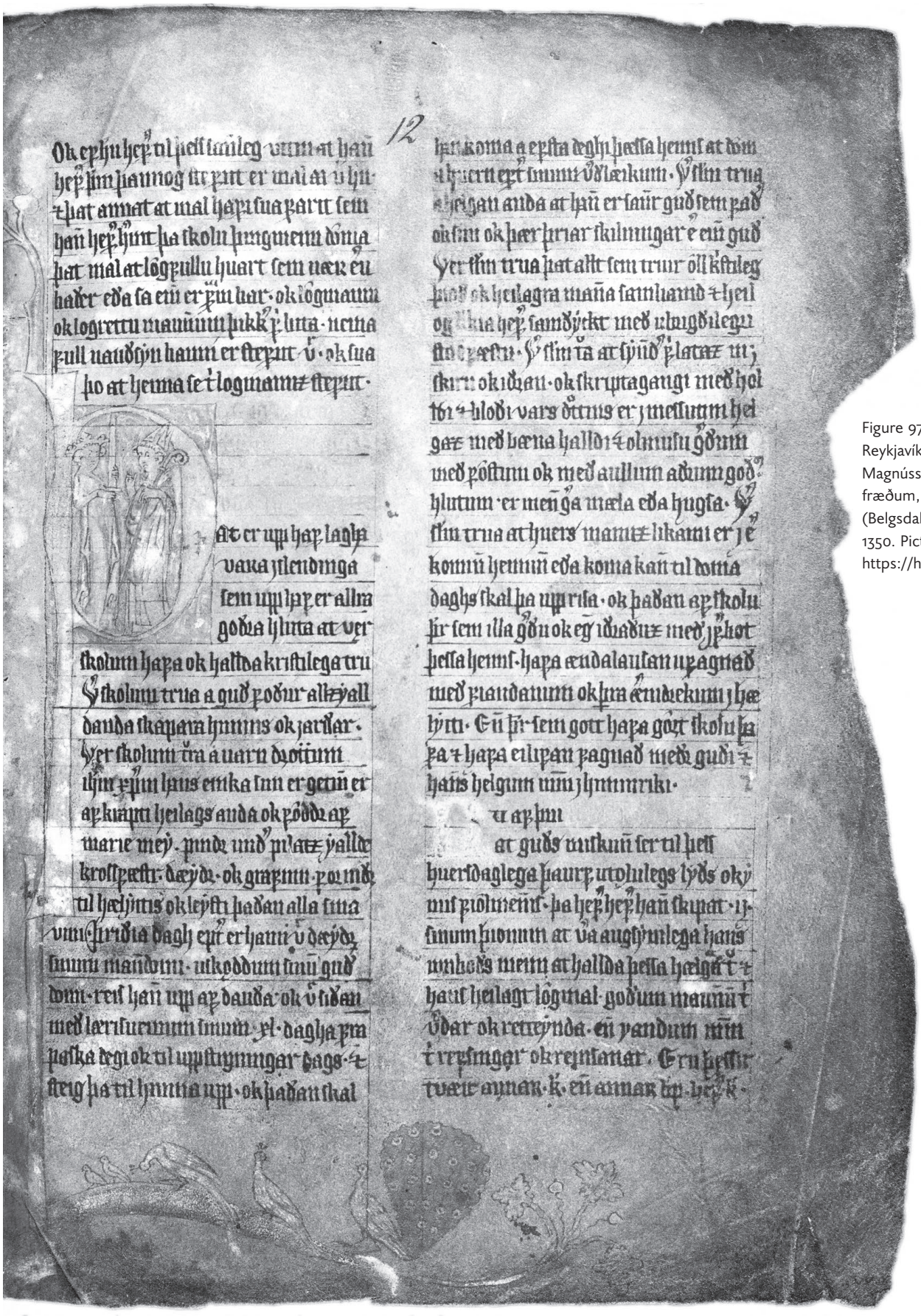

Figure 97. 'King and Bishop', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), f. 12ra10–17. 1350. Picture from https://handrit.is.

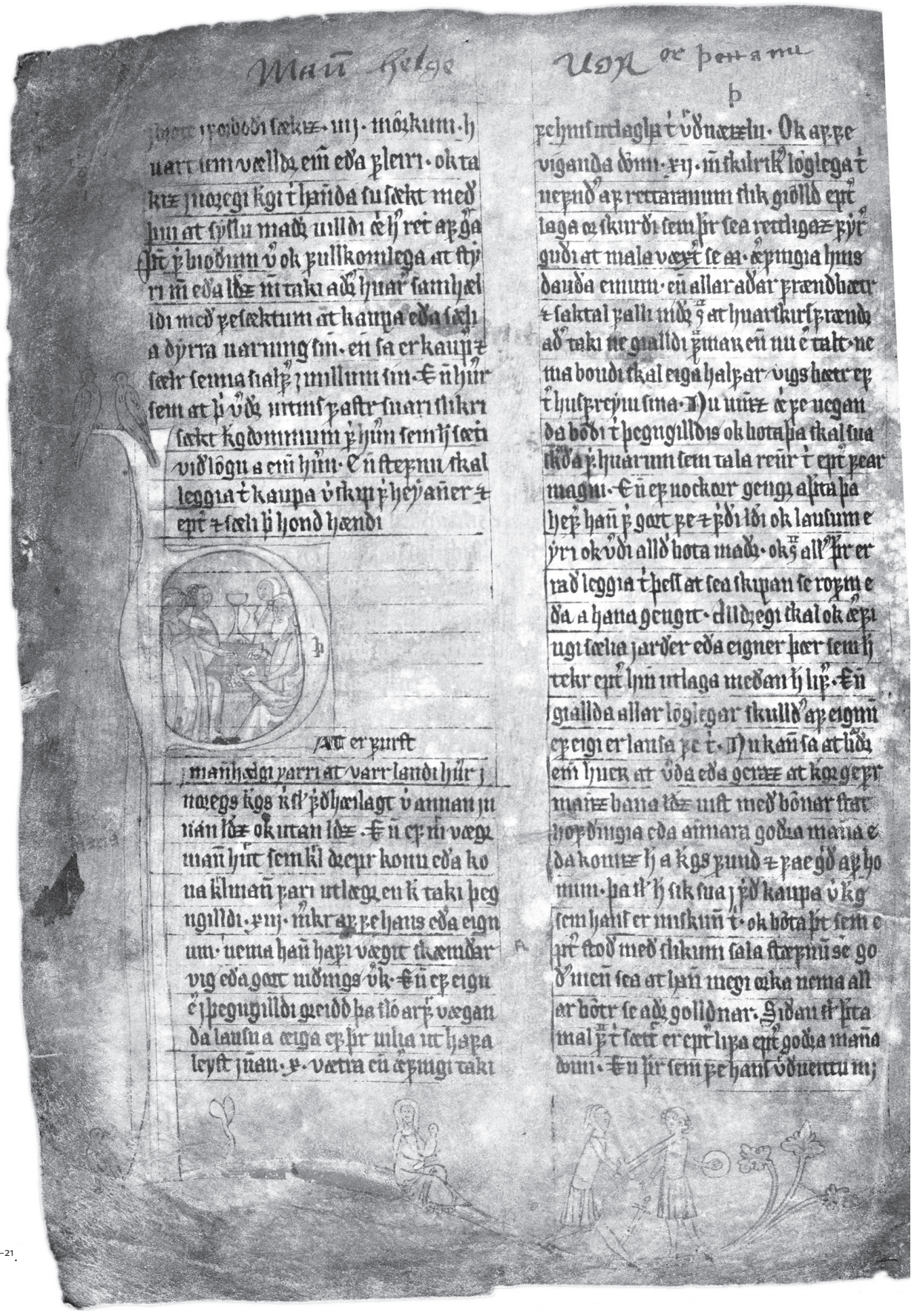

Figure 98. 'Payment of wergild', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), f. 15$^{va15–21}$. 1350. Picture from https://handrit.is.

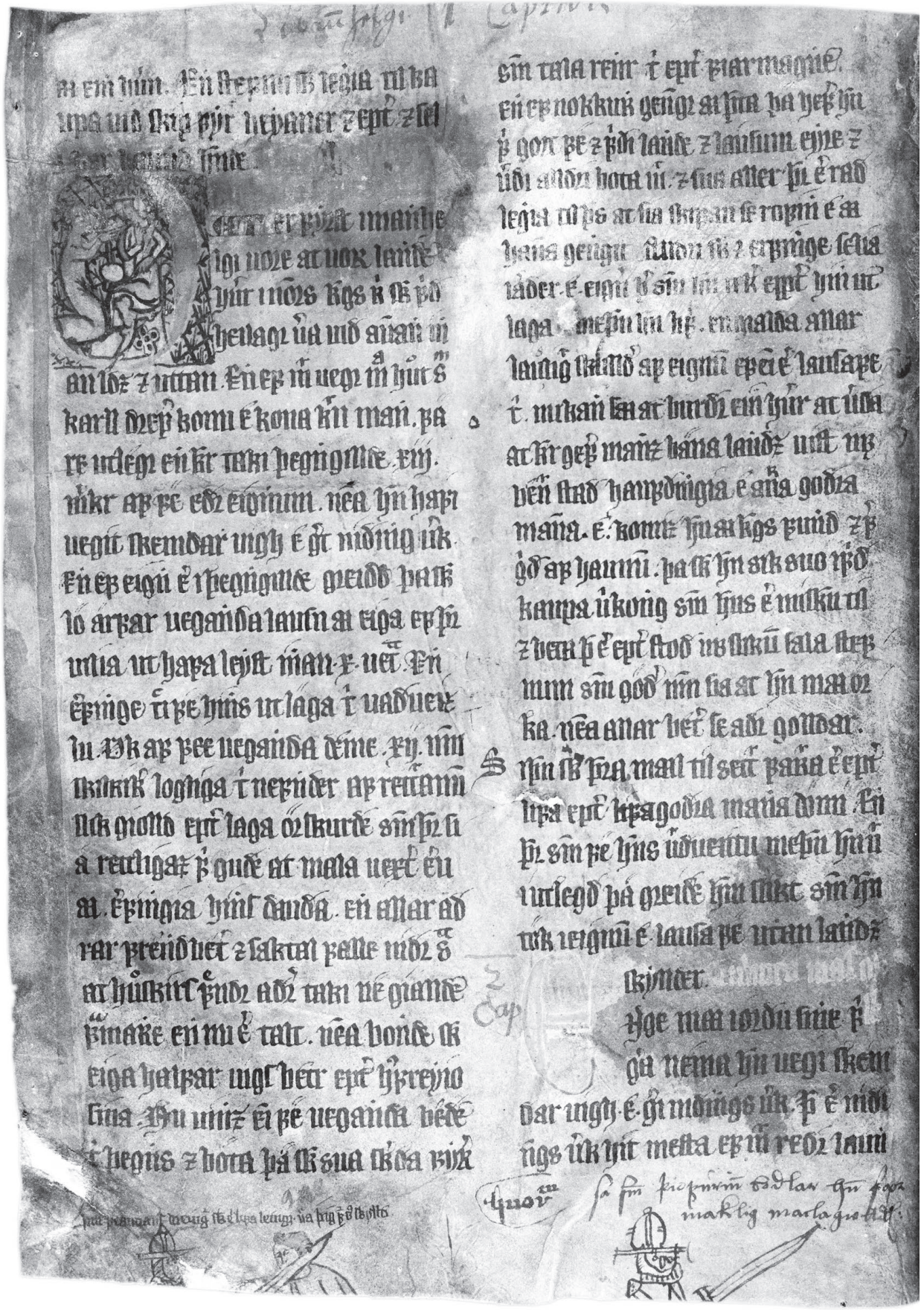

Figure 99. 'Payment of wergild', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3269 b 4to, f. 7$^{va4–8}$. 1340.

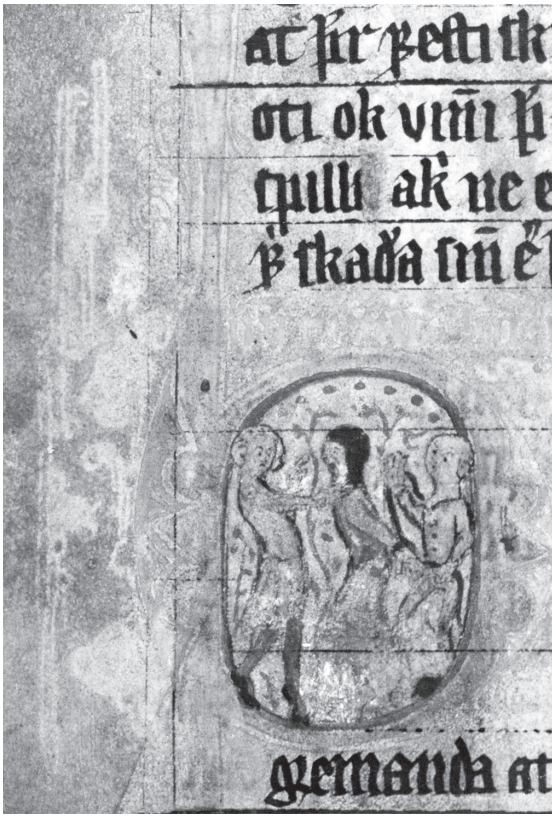

Figure 100. 'Seizure of thief', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), f. 60$^{va10–14}$. 1350. Picture from https://handrit.is.

duties and limitations regarding the executive powers of the king and bishop are defined:

> Nu af þui | at guðs vuiskun*n* ser til þess | huersdaglega þaurf utolulegs lyðs oky | mis fiolmen*n*is þa hef*i*r han*n* skipat ij | sinum þionum at v*e*ra augsynilega hans | umboðs menn at hallda þessa heil*a*ga t*r*u t*i*l | hans heilagt lǫgmal goðum mannu*m* t*i*l | v*ern*dar ok retteynda en*n* vandum m*on*nu*m* | t*i*l refsingar ok rejnsanar ER þęssir | tvæir annaR k*onun*gr en*n* annar b*ysku*p hef*i*r k*onungr* || ef guði valldlegt vallð t*i*l v*e*ralldlegra hl*u*t*a* | en b*ysku*p andlegt valld t*i*l andlegra hluta *ok* | a huaR þ*ei*rra at styrkia annars mal t*i*l re | ttra mala ok lǫglegra *ok* kennaz v*i*ð sik at | þ*ei*r hafa valld ok yf*i*rboð af guði en*n* e*i*g*i* af | ser.
>
> [About the powers of the bishop and the king. Now, because God's mercy sees to the everyday needs of countless people and various nations, he has ordered his two servants to be his visible agents and to maintain this holy faith and holy commandment to the defence of good men and their rights and to the punishment and the purgation of wicked men from the land. Of these two men, one is the king, the other is the bishop. The king has secular dominion over secular matters from God and the bishop has spiritual dominion in spiritual matters; each of them must support the other's dominion in all just and lawful cases and recognize that they have power and authority from God himself and not from themselves.][348]

The next initial in Belgsdalsbók is found at the beginning of the *Jónsbók* section *Mannhelgisbálkr* (Figure 98). The introduced text on f. 15$^{va21–29}$ identifies the scene as the payment of a wergild after a killing:

> ÞAT er furst | j man*n*helgi varri at varr landi hu*e*rr j | noregs k*onun*gs RI*k*i sk*a*l fr*i*ðhæilagr v*i*ð annan jn | nan l*an*dz ok utan l*an*dz En*n* ef m*aðr* vægr | man*n* hu*a*rt semk*arlmaðr* drepr konu eða ko | na k*ar*lman*n* fari utlægr en k*onungr* taki þeg | ngilldi xiij m*er*kr af fe hans eða eign | um nema han*n* hafi vægit skæmðar | vig eða gært niðings v*er*k.
>
> [That is first in the chapter of the law dealing with personal rights, that each of our countrymen in the kingdom of Norway shall retain his legal immunity with regard to another within the country and abroad. But if someone kills another, whether a man kills a woman or a woman kills a man, then he shall be outlawed and the king shall receive the wergild of thirteen marks from the chattels or land, unless he has committed a shameful killing or done the deed of a villain.][349]

Belgsdalsbók follows the introduced text closely, since the standing figure seems to hand over several coins to a representative of the king as compensation for a killing. The king's man holds the material of his cloak up to the table to collect the coins. The killing itself is depicted in the *bas-de-page* of the same leaf. In more detail, the illumination tells a short story, as the killing seems to concern a competition to win a woman who sits with a baby on her lap beside the killing scene on the left. Within the initial, the same woman appears again. An iconographically related scene is found in the previously mentioned law manuscript SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to, although in a less complex fashion. It depicts the payment of a wergild by the accused to a seated king (Figure 99). Supporting the scene in the initial, an almost entirely cut-out depiction of a killing spree is found in the lower margin too, accompanied by

348 *Jónsbók*, ed. and trans. by Schulman, p. 27.
349 *Jónsbók*, ed. and trans. by Schulman, p. 33.

a short comment written by the scribe: 'þetta feandans dreingr skal eigi lifa leingr. vera þíg fyrir Guds skylld' (This devilish boy shall not live any longer. You shall be in God's hands).[350]

Apart from the obvious differences with regards to the more elaborated iconographic models used for Belgsdalsbók, the visual content in GKS 3269 b 4to is similarly related to the text. Since GKS 3269 b 4to acted as one of the textual models for Belgsdalsbók, this comes as no surprise and may be due to a similar workshop.

The last historiated initial in Belgsdalsbók introduces *Þjófabálkr* (Figure 100), the final section of *Jónsbók* about the treatment and punishment of thieves. The scene in the initial is partly described in the introduced text on f. $60^{vb25–32}$:

> NV ef þiofr er fundinn þaskal | binda fol.a abak honum j þeim hreppser | þiofr er tekinn ok fora vmboðs manni | bundinn ok halldi vmboðs manni til þings | ok af þingi j fjǫru eða raun eða nok | koru þann stað sem hænt þikkir enn | vmboðs maðr fai mannum til at lata drep | a hann ok svo alla þiofa.
>
> [Now if a thief is found, then one is to bind the stolen goods on his back in the commune where he was captured and bring him bound to the king's agent and the agent is to bring him to the assembly and from the assembly to the shore or a deserted area or any place which seems fitting to them. The agent is to get someone to kill the thief. All thieves are to be dealt with in this way.][351]

In contrast to all previous initials, this example is both smaller and of a different ornamental design, featuring a yellow background with red dots and incorporated twigs. It is unclear why this change happened since both the illuminator and scribe remain the same for most parts of this production unit of Belgsdalsbók. Whatever the reason, the iconography is found again in Svalbarðsbók on f. $84^{rb16–20}$ (see Figure 52, above). Despite the iconographic model, the colouring is, in this example, less closely related, since the two initials follow different patterns. Nevertheless, the structural patterns in the initial in Belgsdalsbók follow the same iconographic model that was used for Svalbarðsbók.

It has been suggested that A Hel 8 acted as the illuminator for the whole of the first production unit of Belgsdalsbók, since he was also responsible for the rubrics.[352] This cannot be proven, since no further manuscripts exist that were either written or illuminated by the same person,[353] nor is the date of the illumination in Belgsdalsbók clearly definable. But, according to the dating of this first section, it is indeed possible that the book painting was done in *c.* 1350. It is unclear where exactly Belgsdalsbók was produced, since neither the textual nor iconographic models of the manuscript demonstrate any particular closeness to core codices from Helgafell, such as Skarðsbók, but rather are closer to manuscripts that originate from the wider network of this scriptorium, such as Svalbarðsbók and GKS 3269 b 4to.[354] From a philological point of view, it has also recently been suggested that Belgsdalsbók should not be considered a part of the Helgafell group, due to the fact that very few leaves were written by H Hel 1.[355] Indeed, the third production unit is clearly separated from the first two, amongst other reasons due to the later date and the changing textual content. Since the overall binding and division of gatherings in Belgsdalsbók was only done after H Hel 1 contributed the ecclesiastical texts *Um bannsverk*, *Þessum málum má eigi appelera*, and two missing sections of *Skipan Eilífs erkibyskups hin þriðja* which H Hel 8 has omitted (see Table 28), it could be that the finalization of the composite manuscript took place at Helgafell. Similarly to the two initial production units in the previously discussed *Postula sögur* codex SÁM, AM 239 fol., Belgsdalsbók indeed appears to be a Helgafell-external manuscript that probably only came to the scriptorium after the second production unit was finalized in *c.* 1370. This corresponds well with the fact that some ornamental similarities also appear in DAM, AM 226 fol., which was illuminated at about the same time. Due to the textual link between Svalbarðsbók and Skarðsbók and the fact that several iconographic motifs used for Belgsdalsbók originate from the same workshop as Svalbarðsbók, it could be concluded that both Belgsdalsbók and Svalbarðsbók were produced in a workshop close to Helgafell. Apart from these textual and iconographic links, little can be gathered about the production of these two manuscripts with certainty.[356] Nevertheless, as Diagram 6 shows, H Hel 8, the main hand of Belgsdalsbók, was clearly an internationally acting active scribe who originated from a potentially clerical background.

350 See Drechsler, 'Marginalia', pp. 190–92.
351 *Jónsbók*, ed. and trans. by Schulman, p. 333.
352 Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande', pp. 167, 178, and 184.
353 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 164.
354 Johansson and Liepe, 'Text and Images'.
355 Rohrbach, 'Repositioning *Jónsbók*', p. 206.
356 For a theory on the legal background to the text in AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), see Drechsler, 'Jón Halldórsson and Law Manuscripts'.

Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 219 fol., SÁM 2; Landsbókasafn Íslands, JS fragm 5, Lbs fragm 6; & Þjóðminjasafn Íslands, Þjms 176

The following *Byskupa sögur* manuscript is internal to the Helgafell workshop and offers the most complex codicological structures of the group. Because the original codex was split up in the seventeenth century in northern Iceland, only fragments separated into five shelf marks remain:[357] AM 219 fol., SÁM 2 (both SÁM), JS fragm 5, Lbs fragm 6 (both LBS), and Reykjavík, Þjóðminjasafn Íslands, Þjms 176 (in the following: AM 219 fol.). Due to this separation, many of the leaves have been heavily trimmed.[358] From some of the extant complete leaves in AM 219 fol., it can be concluded that the original codex once included two columns with thirty-eight lines and was possibly as large as about 325 × 232 mm.[359]

AM 219 fol. includes three bishops' sagas: *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, *Þorláks saga helga*, and *Guðmundar saga byskups*. Based on complete texts found in the previously discussed MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 and other manuscripts, the original content and length of AM 219 fol. may be as given in Table 30.[360]

The estimated length of 108 leaves for the manuscript could well have constituted, by comparison with other manuscripts written by H Hel 1, a complete codex. The first saga of AM 219 fol., *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, has been closely linked to the previously discussed KB, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5:[361] both MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 and AM 219 fol. form the L-recension of the saga (L^1 and L^2), but are only related to a common archetype.[362] Additionally, *Þorláks saga helga*, the following text in AM 219 fol., is related to a manuscript from Helgafell. The saga is mainly known from three recensions (A, B, and C), of which AM

Table 30. Textual arrangement of AM 219 fol.

Text	Fragment and Folios	Number of Lost Folios	Chapter[a]
Jóns saga Hólabyskups	*1 ½	F. 1–1 ½	
	AM 219 fol., f. 1	F. 2 ½	viii–xii
	*2	Ff. 3 ½–4 ½	
	AM 219 fol., f. 2	F. 5 ½	xviii–xxi
	*7	Ff. 6 ½–12 ½	
	AM 219 fol., f. 3	F. 13 ½	xlix–l
	*3[b]	Ff. 14 ½–16 ½	
	AM 219 fol., f. 4	F. 17 ½	li–lvi
	*6 (*8)[c]	Ff. 18 ½–23 ½ (ff. 18 ½–25 ½)	
Þorláks saga helga in yngri	*1 ½	Ff. 23 ½–25	
	AM 219 fol., f. 5	F. 26	C 6–9
	*7	Ff. 27–33	
	AM 219 fol., ff. 6–8	Ff. 34–36	C 24–31
	*11	Ff. 37–47	
	AM 219 fol., ff. 9–10	Ff. 48–49	C 39–40
Guðmundar saga byskups	*½	F. 49 ½	
	JS fragm 5, f. 1	F. 50 ½	2–4
	*9	Ff. 51 ½–59 ½	
	Lbs fragm 6, f. 1	F. 60 ½	18–19
	*1	F. 61 ½	
	AM 219 fol., ff. 11–12	Ff. 62 ½–63 ½	20–22
	*2	Ff. 64 ½–65 ½	
	AM 219 fol., ff. 13–14	Ff. 66 ½–67 ½	25–28
	*2	Ff. 68 ½–69 ½	
	Þjms 176, f. 1	F. 70 ½	33–35
	*15 (*17)	Ff. 71 ½–85 ½ (ff. 71 ½–87 ½)	
	AM 219 fol., f. 15	F. 86 ½	61–63
	*3	Ff. 88 ½–90 ½	
	AM 219 fol., f. 16	F. 91 ½	67–68
	*9	Ff. 92 ½–100 ½	
	SÁM 2, f. 1	F. 101 ½[d]	80–83
	*2	Ff. 102 ½–103 ½	
	AM 219 fol., f. 17	F. 104 ½	85–89
	*2 ½	Ff. 105 ½–108	

[a] The chapter divisions of the three sagas in AM 219 fol. are taken from *Byskupa sǫgur* (1978), ed. by Jón Helgason, pp. 187–96 and 274–95 (namely *Þorláks saga helga* A and BC); *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, pp. 61–66 and 102–08; as well as *Biskupa sögur*, II, ed. by Ásdís Egilsdóttir, pp. 6–7, 36–39, 42–48, 55–61, 67–71, 126–30, 140–43, 169–72, and 177–80.

[b] In *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, p. 180, it is recognized that three leaves must be missing in this section.

[c] In two instances, in *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 14, the question remains open as to whether the content of the text was a few folios longer in the missing parts. In the table above, his suggestions are included, though not counted in the overall page numbering.

[d] Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', p. 348, has suggested that SÁM 2 should be inserted between ff. 16–17. Between the two leaves there is a lacuna of twelve leaves according to *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 14. In this diagram, SÁM 2 is put into this lacuna according to the respective chapters.

357 On the provenance of AM 219 fol. and related fragments, see *Skýrsla*, ed. by Sigurður Guðmundsson, I, 7, Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 178; *Skrá um skinnblöð*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, pp. 2 and 19; and *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 9–12.

358 For the individual fragments, see *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 9–22; Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', p. 348; and *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, pp. 180–81.

359 Prior to the dating found in *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21, AM 219 fol. and related fragments have been roughly dated to the end of the fourteenth century. For an overview of previous dating suggestions, see *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, p. 181.

360 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 13–15; Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', p. 348; *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, p. 180.

361 *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, pp. 180–84.

362 *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote, p. 184.

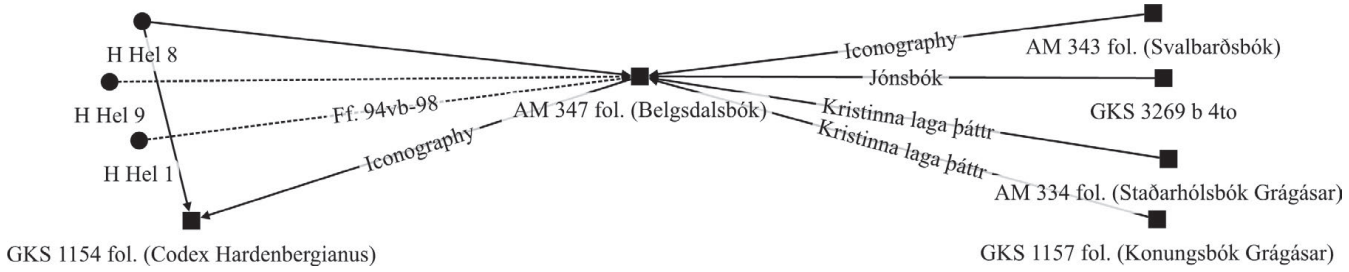

Diagram 6. Network of AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók). Minor scribal (dotted), scribal, textual, or iconographic (black) relations between manuscripts and fragments linked to scribes (H) and illuminators (A) of the Helgafell group (Hel) and the Helgafell network-related manuscripts.

219 fol. includes one of the latest redactions, the C¹-recension.[363] Several manuscripts belong to the C-recension, two of which are from the Middle Ages: AM 219 fol. (C¹) and SÁM, AM 383 IV 4to (C²), both from Helgafell.[364] As with the previous saga in AM 219 fol., these two copies are not similar but derive from the same archetype.[365] Still, the saga has a close connection to Helgafell, since it was composed by the third abbot of the Augustinian house of canons regular, Ketill Hermundarson (d. 1220).[366] The last text in AM 219 fol. is *Guðmundar saga byskups*, which is derived in various recensions (A–D).[367] AM 219 fol. features the D¹ recension, the latest version written by a canon from Munkaþverá in *c.* 1343, Arngrímr Brandsson. AM 219 fol. contains the Da¹ recension, which is not known from any other medieval text.[368]

Due to the fragmentary state of AM 219 fol., it is no longer possible to envisage a unified textual structure. In addition, it appears difficult to see a closed structure between all three texts in AM 219 fol., since they each follow differently dated recensions of the respective sagas. From a strictly palaeographical point of view, it is possible to argue that AM 219 fol. was once several separate manuscripts, as may have been the case with AM 233 a fol. This is not indicated in the provenance of the various fragments.[369] Ultimately, there seems to be no indication of it having originally been several different manuscripts in the style of the book painting found in the manuscript. Accordingly, AM 219 fol. probably always included the three *Byskupa sögur*.

Figure 101.
'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 2, f. 1ra. 1370.

363 For the recensions of *Þorláks saga helga*, see *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 13; *Þorláks saga helga*, ed. by Ásdís Egilsdóttir, pp. 22–51; *Biskupa sögur*, II, ed. by Ásdís Egilsdóttir, pp. xxxii–lii. For the Latin text of *Þorláks saga helga*, see Gottskálk Jensson, 'The Lost Latin Literature', and Wolf, 'A Translation of the Latin Fragments'.

364 On the two C-recensions, see *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 13.

365 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 13.

366 *Biskupa sögur*, ed. by Jón Sigurðsson and Guðbrandur Vigfússon, I, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.

367 On the different recensions of *Guðmundar saga byskups*, see *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 9–22 and 33–45; *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson; and *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, ed. by Foote.

368 In *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 14, it is mentioned that two copies of the Da¹ recension derive from AM 219 fol.: AM 397 4to and AM 398 4to (both SÁM), both from the seventeenth century. Neither of them is strongly related to AM 219 fol. although the loss of an intermediary manuscript makes it impossible to compare them more closely. As with *Jóns saga Hólabyskups*, AM 219 fol. refers to the same archetype as the Db¹ recension in MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5. For the dating of AM 397 4to and AM 398 4to, see Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 603–04.

369 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 14–15.

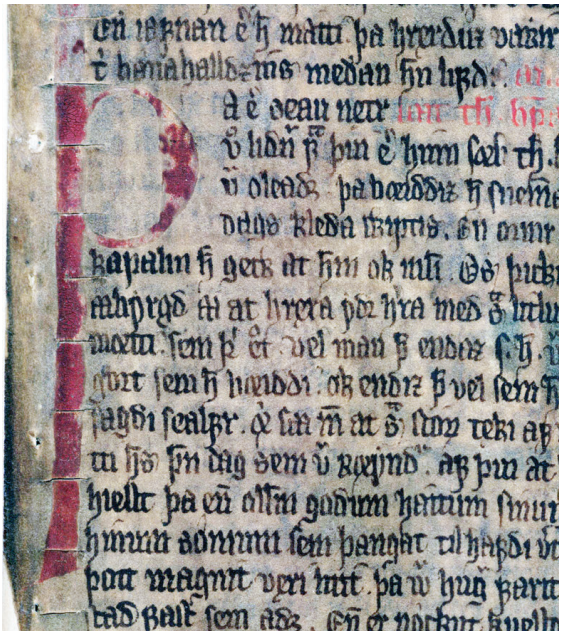

Figure 102. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 219 fol., f. 7$^{ra10–13}$. 1370.

Figure 103. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands, JS fragm 5, f. 1$^{ra22–26}$. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is. Photo: Landsbókasafn Íslands, reproduced with permission.

Figure 104. 'Minor initial', Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 219 fol., f. 2$^{rb35–37}$. 1370.

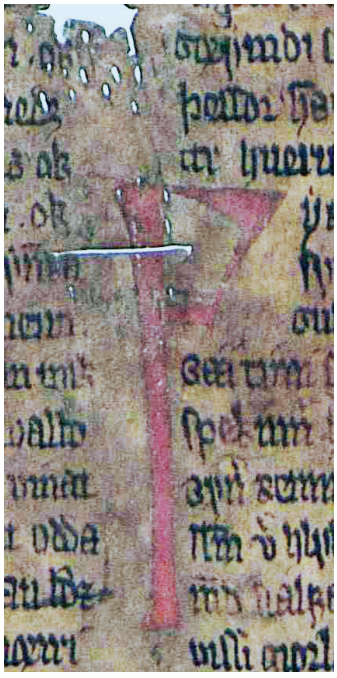

Figure 105. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands, Lbs fragm 6, f. 1$^{rb10–12}$. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is. Photo: Landsbókasafn Íslands, reproduced with permission.

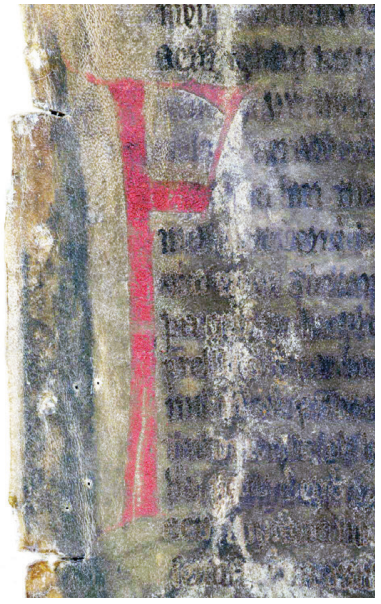

Figure 106. 'Minor initial', Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 219 fol., f. 5$^{ra4–6}$. 1370.

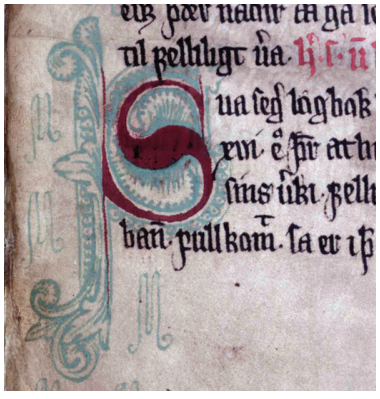

Figure 107. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 141$^{ra25–27}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

AM 219 fol. includes a limited amount of book painting. Only small initials are featured, and those lack any pen-flourishing. Still, all of the minor initials seem to have been painted by the same hand. Thus, f. 1^{r} in SÁM 2 clearly resembles the thickening and form of small initials found in AM 219 fol. (Figures 101–02), while the minor initial in JS fragm 5 follows similar ornamental patterns as small initials in AM 219 fol. (Figures 103–04). The single small initial on f. 1^{r} in Lbs fragm 6 is also mirrored in AM 219 fol. (Figures 105–06), and since examples are found in different texts (*Þorláks saga helga* and *Guðmundar saga byskups*), this suggests that they were all illuminated by the same illuminator, which was most likely the scribe H Hel 1. This is further strengthened by the fact that the example from JS fragm 5 with its interwoven colours in the middle brick might relate to the form of minor initial letters in SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók) (Figure 107).

Table 31. Textual arrangement of AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi).

Gatherings	Folios	Order of Folios	Chapters
1 (8)	*3	Ff. 1–3	
	AM 73 b fol., ff. 1–2	Ff. 4–5	157–68
	*3	Ff. 6–8	
2 (8)	*1	F. 1	
	AM 73 b fol., f. 3	F. 2	179–83
	*4	Ff. 3–6	
	AM 73 b fol., f. 4	F. 7	203–06
	*1	F. 8	

As discussed, as with AM 219 fol., Skarðsbók was written by H Hel 1 alone.

Each text in AM 219 fol. begins with a blank recto leaf, which was probably intended to be later filled with miniatures depicting the saints of the relevant sagas.[370] Because of the fragmentary state of the codex this cannot be further investigated, but two of the three other saints' saga manuscripts connected to Helgafell, DAM, AM 233 a fol. and MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, display a similar pattern: on the first recto leaf, a depiction of saints is shown. Together with AM 219 fol., AM 233 a fol. might indicate such a tradition in western Iceland at the time of the production of AM 219 fol. It is obvious that AM 219 fol. was originally intended to include book painting that was never filled in. Therefore, it could be tentatively suggested that H Hel 1 was also responsible for the paintings of the minor initials in AM 219 fol., since a similar colour pattern appears again in Skarðsbók. It is unusual that book painters such as Magnús Þórhallsson, who worked at Helgafell at the time when AM 219 fol. was produced, did not contribute to AM 219 fol. His absence from the codex suggests that he might not have been in contact with H Hel 1, since he did not illuminate any other manuscripts written by H Hel 1 and only contributed to AM 226 fol. when the writing process was finished in 1370. AM 219 fol., therefore, was probably not produced contemporaneously at the same site as AM 226 fol.

Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi)

At the time when H Hel 1 gathered and wrote the texts in SÁM, AM 219 fol., he also wrote DAM, AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi), a kings' saga fragment containing parts of the longest version of the interpolated *Óláfs saga helga hin sérstaka*.[371] Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi consists of only four leaves measuring 285 × 213 mm. The number of lines in the two-columned text of Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi is similar to the previously discussed kings' saga codex AM 325 X 4to & AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to (both DAM), which were written by H Hel 1 some ten years earlier (34 lines).

The provenance of Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi is unknown until the seventeenth century.[372] At that time it was still complete and included not only the complete text of *Óláfs saga helga*, but also a prologue to that saga, as well as the complete *Magnúss saga góða*.[373] Despite the very fragmentary state of Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi, all four leaves once belonged to two gatherings (Table 31).[374]

Óláfs saga helga in Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi belongs to the same recension as the fragment DAM, AM 325 XI 2 d 4to, which represents the last remaining leaf of *Codex Resenianus, a kings' saga codex that burned in the great fire of Copenhagen in 1728.[375] The same scribe as AM 325 XI 2 d 4to, H Res 1, also wrote parts of the kings' saga codex DAM, AM 53 fol., which belongs to the same strand as AM 325 XI 2 d 4to, but is less related to Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi.[376] Nothing is known about the medieval provenance of either AM 53 fol. or AM 325 XI 2 d 4to.[377] Furthermore, only AM 53 fol. could have been a textual model for Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi as it was produced in *c.* 1375–1400, while AM 325 XI 2 d 4to was only written some thirty years after Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi in *c.* 1400.[378] In conclusion, no direct contact between the scribes H Hel 1 and H Hel 23 seems to have occurred during the writing process of Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi.

Óláfs saga helga in Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi contains interpolations from the Family sagas *Bjarnar saga Hítdælakappa*, *Fóstbræðra saga*, and *Laxdæla*

370 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 14.

371 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.

372 *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 981–82.

373 Several copies of the codex AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi) once existed, but all of them were made in the seventeenth century. For these copies, see *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 983–90.

374 *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 983.

375 The great fire in 1728 was the largest fire in the history of Copenhagen and destroyed about 28 per cent of the city. Many private book collections, among other parts of the collection of Árni Magnússon, were lost to the fire.

376 See the conclusion to this book for a discussion on the relation between AM 325 XI 2 d 4to, AM 53 fol., and AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi).

377 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 48–49.

378 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 37 and 566.

saga.[379] As discussed, the book painting of Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi shows similarities with AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to & AM 325 X 4to, the second kings' saga manuscript written by H Hel 1. In Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi, rubrics are found in several instances which are left out in the earlier kings' saga codex. At the same time, closely related to AM 325 X 4to is a similar minor colour in Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi, which is consistently used for the *fleuronnée* ornamentation throughout. It also correlates with a similar style of the initial letters and suggests again that H Hel 1 was also responsible for their colouring.

Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 383 IV 4to

Similar to DAM, AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi), the fragment SÁM, AM 383 IV 4to written by H Hel 1 also consists of only four leaves that seem once to have represented a whole codex. In the case of AM 383 IV 4to, the whole *Þorláks saga helga* was featured with an additional section on miracles named *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups hin elsta*.[380] AM 383 IV 4to was written around the same time as AM 219 fol. in *c.* 1370–90.[381]

Compared to other manuscripts written by H Hel 1, AM 383 IV 4to is rather small; the first two folios measure only 180 × 138 mm and contain twenty-three lines entirely written in one column. All of its four leaves are in good shape, despite the fact that f. 1 and f. 3 were at one stage used as book wrappings. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the provenance of AM 383 IV 4to. Two copies of the original manuscript exist: AM 379 4to (C^4) and AM 380 4to (C^3) (both SÁM), each written in the middle of the seventeenth century.[382] These two fragments contain *Hungrvaka*, a short history of the first five bishops of Skálholt, and *Þorláks saga helga*. It is likely that AM 383 IV 4to was still complete when they were copied, as these two later copies contain the complete *Þorláks saga helga*.[383] This would mean that the original codex also contained the additional texts. Nevertheless, due to the small size of the leaves and the single-column format, AM 383 IV 4to might never have included any texts other than *Þorláks saga helga*.[384] Today the content of AM 383 IV 4to is as given in Table 32.[385]

Table 32. Textual arrangement of AM 383 IV 4to.

Folios	Text	Chapters
F. 1	*Þorláks saga helga*	4–5
F. 2		7–8
F. 3	*Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups hin elsta*	29–30, 34–35
F. 4		41–43

As mentioned, the first two leaves include a related version of the same saga found in SÁM, AM 219 fol. Despite the similarities that the texts share, they are not close copies of one another. This difference is further seen in the following two leaves in AM 383 IV 4to that include *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups hin elsta*, which is not found in AM 219 fol. *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups hin elsta* is commonly considered an independent work. Thus, the order of the two texts in AM 383 IV 4to may differ from the original. The main manuscript containing *Jarteinabók Þorláks biskups hin elsta*, DAM, AM 645 4to from *c.* 1220–50,[386] places this text before *Þorláks saga helga*. The folio numbers that were added by Kristian Kålund in the late nineteenth century also suggest that the folios of AM 383 IV 4to originally had a different order, since he wrote incorrect numbers in the upper margins of the four leaves.[387] The four folios undoubtedly always belonged to one manuscript.

Despite the close textual relationship to AM 219 fol., the book painting of AM 383 IV 4to to some extent differs from it, and this in turn suggests two different production units. Similar to AM 219 fol., AM 383 IV 4to contains red rubrics on all leaves, as well as coloured small initials. Yet, on closer inspection, it seems the small initials found on ff. 1–2 and ff. 3–4 were illuminated by different hands. Neither of the two units shares stylistic references with AM 219 fol. or other manuscripts written by the scribe H Hel 1. AM 383 IV 4to was likely written in two distinctive stages, and the site of the latter production unit might well have been outside of Helgafell.

379 Lassen, 'Indigenous and Latin Literature', p. 81.
380 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 19.
381 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.
382 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 593–94; *Byskupa sǫgur* (1978), ed. by Jón Helgason, p. 120; *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 13; *Biskupa sögur*, ed. by Jón Sigurðsson and Guðbrandur Vigfússon, I, p. xlvi.
383 *Byskupa sǫgur* (1978), ed. by Jón Helgason, p. 120.
384 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 13. Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the two paper copies AM 379 4to and AM 380 4to (both SÁM) indeed indicate that AM 383 IV 4to originally included *Hungrvaka*, too. This cannot be proven with any certainty, but *Hungrvaka* is often added to the saga as a prelude. For this, see Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland*, p. 49.
385 The chapter division is taken from *Byskupa sǫgur* (1978), ed. by Jón Helgason, pp. 138–40, 143–45, 151–53, 182–84, and 190–94.
386 Hreinn Benediktsson, *Early Icelandic Script*, p. xx; Seip, *Palæografi B*, 43.
387 According to notes made by Kristian Kålund to the fragments, f. 1 was once 1–2, f. 2 7–8, f. 3 5–6, and f. 4 3–4.

Table 33. Grouping and dating of manuscripts and fragments written by H Hel 2.

Group	Manuscript	Main Content	Date
I	AM 61 fol.	*Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, *Óláfs saga helga*	*c.* 1350
	AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7	*Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*	*c.* 1350
	AM 156 4to	*Jónsbók*	*c.* 1350–60
	AM 238 VII fol.	*Silvesters saga*	*c.* 1360
II	SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis)	*Postula sögur*	*c.* 1360–70
III	AM 233 a fol. (ff. 15^{va}–27^{vb})	*Heilagra meyjar sögur*	*c.* 1370–75
Note: For literature on the dating of all sections, see Table 1.			

An indication that the latter may be the case is found in the fact that the book painting differs from other manuscripts written by the same scribe. This other site was possibly the same as the one at which AM 219 fol. was produced, since the redaction of *Þorláks saga helga* is so closely related to AM 383 IV 4to.

Manuscripts and Fragments Written by H Hel 2

Similar to H Hel 1, H Hel 2 wrote manuscripts featuring several medieval Icelandic literary genres.[388] H Hel 2 is a skilful, clean, and regular albeit conservative scribe, who produced six manuscripts and fragments altogether, although it is possible that H Hel 2 wrote more codices besides those traditionally attributed to him.[389] Along with other factors, a change in orthography has been established in all manuscripts and fragments written by H Hel 2.[390] Furthermore, it allows a more precise dating than has hitherto been provided.[391] The dating of the manuscripts written by H Hel 2 can be gathered into three groups (Table 33).

Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 61 fol.

The kings' saga codex DAM, AM 61 fol. is among the earliest manuscripts written by H Hel 2 and provides evidence of a professional scribe at work.[392] It is of medium size (321 × 230 mm), written in two columns, and consists of 133 leaves. The manuscript was produced in two sections, of which only the oldest production unit relates to H Hel 2. The later section, consisting of the last three gatherings, was added in *c.* 1400–50 somewhere external to the original scriptorium, likely to complete the unfinished text.[393] Almost all leaves of the oldest production unit of AM 61 fol. are written in thirty-eight lines. The later part does not follow the same pattern, varying between forty-four and forty-eight lines per page. This lack of consistency is also attested in the orthography of the three rather unexperienced later hands.[394] It is most likely that they were not part of the same scriptorium as H Hel 2, since the text that was used for this part is taken from a different textual model.[395]

Unfortunately, the first two hundred years of provenance of AM 61 fol. are unknown, but it is worth mentioning that the codex might have come into the possession of the latest owner directly from the library of the Augustinian house and, therefore, possibly remained at Helgafell for a long time after it was finished outside of the monastery.[396] Apart from f. 133, which has been trimmed to a narrow strip, the texts and leaves of AM 61 fol. are complete. As with DAM, AM 226 fol., most of the folios were sewn together after the later part was added. Today, the division of gatherings and texts is as given in Table 34.

Little is known about the textual model of the first kings' saga in AM 61 fol., the longest version of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*. It was originally com-

388 For the orthography of H Hel 2, see *Codex Scardensis*, ed. by Slay, pp. 9–10; Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 9, 36–37, and 59–61; *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, pp. 10–25; *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, pp. xxiv–xxxii; and Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna'. In his introduction to SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), Slay briefly discussed the orthography of H Hel 2 and came to the conclusion that '[H Hel 2 should be considered] as an older man of conservative habits writing Codex Scardensis at the time when Skarðsbók was being written'. Slay bases his assumption mainly on the orthographic peculiarity of a constant use of 'ð' for 'd', a practice which had mostly vanished after *c.* 1350, but is also found in SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), which was written by the Helgafell scribe H Hel 1 in 1363, as discussed above.

389 Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna', p. 205.

390 Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna', pp. 214–15 and 219.

391 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 22 and 18.

392 For AM 61 fol., see *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 970–78, and *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, pp. xxiii–xl.

393 *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. 22; *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 970.

394 *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, pp. 20–22.

395 *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 971.

396 According to a note written by Árni Magnússon, the previous owner of AM 61 fol. was Magnús Björnsson (1595–1662) from Munkaþverá. It is likely that the manuscript was handed over to Magnús by his wife Guðrún Þórðardóttir, who was descended from a family whose members lived at Helgafell and held several positions at the monastery. For the provenance of AM 61 fol., see Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 40–41; *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 976–78; *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, pp. 28–30; and *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, pp. xxxvii–xxxix.

Table 34. Gatherings and textual arrangement of AM 61 fol. The underlined numbers indicate folios added later.

Gathering	Folios	Divisions of Sewn Folios	Text	Text Length
1 (7)	Ff. 1–7	Ff. 1 + 6, 2 + 5, 3 + 4, 7	*Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*	Ff. 1^{v}–75^{r}
2 (8)	Ff. 8–15	Ff. 8 + 15, 9 + 14, 10 + 13, 11 + 12		
3 (8)	Ff. 16–23	Ff. 16 + 23, 17 + 22, 18 + 21, 19 + 20		
4 (8)	Ff. 24–31	Ff. 24 + 31, 25 + 30, 26 + 29, 27 + 28		
5 (8)	Ff. 32–39	Ff. 32 + 39, 33 + 38, 34 + 37, 35 + 36		
6 (8)	Ff. 40–47	Ff. 40 + 47, 41 + 46, 42 + 45, 43 + 44		
7 (6)	Ff. 48–53	Ff. 48, 49, 50 + 51, 52, 53		
8 (8)	Ff. 54–61	Ff. 54 + 61, 55 + 60, 56 + 59, 57 + 58		
9 (8)	Ff. 62–69	Ff. 62 + 69, 63 + 68, 64 + 67, 65 + 66		
10 (8)	Ff. 70–77	Ff. 70, 71 + 76, 72 + 75, 73 + 74, 77		
11 (8)	Ff. 78–85	Ff. 78 + 85, 79 + 84, 80, 81 + 82, 83	*Óláfs saga helga*	Ff. 75^{v}–113^{r}
12 (8)	Ff. 86–93	Ff. 86 + 93, 87 + 92, 88 + 91, 89 + 90		
13 (8)	Ff. 94–101	Ff. 94 + 101, 95 + 100, 96 + 99, 97 + 98		
14 (8)	Ff. 102–09	Ff. 102 + 109, 103 + 108, 104 + 107, 105 + 106		
15 (8)	Ff. 110–17	Ff. 110 + 117, 111 + 116, 112 + 115, 113 + 114		
16 (8)	Ff. 118–25	Ff. 118 + 125, 119 + 124, 120 + 123, 121 + 122		
17 (8)	Ff. 126–33	Ff. 126, 127, 128, 129 + 132, 130 + 131, 133		

posed in *c.* 1300, but since earlier copies of the interpolated version are unknown, it could be suggested that at least the redaction known from AM 61 fol. was compiled for this codex. Later versions of this redaction suggest that it was 'subsequently revised, partly by abridgment of the saga-texts that were included […], and partly by expansion of the texts'.[397] One of these later redactions includes SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), but no direct textual influence can be identified, as Flateyjarbók made use of a different textual model: *Óláfs saga helga* in Flateyjarbók is more closely related to DAM, AM 62 fol., a manuscript written at the farm Stóri-Akrar í Blönduhlíð in Skagafjörður in northern Iceland in *c.* 1375–1400.[398]

The last of the two sagas in AM 61 fol., the longest version of *Óláfs saga helga*, presents the same redaction of the text as the one found in the kings' saga manuscript DAM, AM 68 fol.[399] AM 61 fol. and AM 68 fol. are both characterized by various additions. Furthermore, an orthographic similarity also suggests that the two hands had received comparable scribal training. H Hel 13, the scribe of DAM, AM 68 fol., was also responsible for the famous codex SÁM, GKS 2367 4to (Konungsbók Snorra-Eddu).[400] But since these two manuscripts were written somewhat earlier than AM 61 fol. in *c.* 1300–50,[401] direct contact between H Hel 2 and this scribe is very unlikely. In addition, no stylistic connections between the illuminations in the two manuscripts are distinguishable and there are no similarities in the placements or size of initials. The common textual reference found in AM 61 fol. and AM 68 fol. was, it seems, employed independently.

Planned Initials in AM 61 fol.

AM 61 fol. is completely unilluminated, but large empty spaces in the manuscript text indicate that illustrations were intended to be inserted later.[402]

397 *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. 30.

398 Stefán Karlsson, 'Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar', pp. 120 and 130. For the manuscript group to which AM 62 fol. belongs, see Table 11.

399 *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 1007–08.

400 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 48–49; *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, pp. 12 and 31–32.

401 *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. 12.

402 AM 61 fol. contains a number of marginal notes. One of these notes, in the lower margin on f. 99^{v}, has been dated to *c.* 1400 in *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 974. It mentions a *biarne smidr*. *Smiðr* is a general medieval Icelandic description of a book painter. A lay illuminator with the name Bjarni Ívarson is indeed known to have illuminated a single leaf (SÁM, AM 80 b 8vo) in 1473 according to Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 130. But since the dating of AM 61 fol. is seventy years earlier, it cannot have been the same Bjarni who was intended to illuminate AM 61 fol. For Bjarni Ívarson, see Stefán Karlsson, 'The Localisation and Dating of Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts', pp. 141–42, *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by

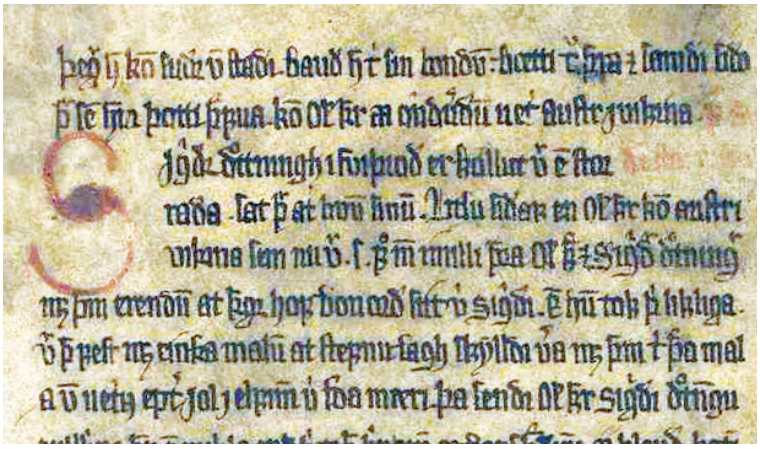

Figure 108. 'Minor initial and rubric', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 61 fol., f. 48ra. 1350. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Table 35. Spaces left to accommodate initials in AM 61 fol.

Size	Space	Text	Chapter
F. 1$^{va3–7}$	Large	*Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*	1
F. 8$^{rb14–18}$	Medium		43
F. 75$^{va1–6}$	Large	*Óláfs saga helga*	1
F. 77$^{va30–33}$	Medium		16
F. 78$^{rb1–9}$	Large		18
F. 95$^{ra19–22}$	Medium		78
F. 96$^{va17–20}$	Medium		81
F. 99$^{va14–17}$	Medium		99
F. 104$^{rb34–37}$	Medium		119

Initials larger than three lines in AM 61 fol. are listed in Table 35.[403]

Little can be said about the intended content of these empty spaces, but the sheer number of omitted initials suggests that the compiler had a strong interest in having *Óláfs saga helga* more elaborately illuminated than *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*. On ff. 83^{r}–105^{r}, H Hel 2 added a number of very short notes in which the content of the respective saga chapters is referred to. It has been suggested that they were inserted as a guide for the illuminator.[404] Although providing notes for rubricators is a usual practice in high and late medieval European scriptoria,[405] this appears unlikely in the case of AM 61 fol., since no major initials are found in these sections, nor in those sections where such instructions would be of help. Moreover, in almost all of the illuminated manuscripts written by H Hel 1, the rubrics in particular provide the strongest text–image references. Rather, the related notes in AM 61 fol. written by H Hel 2 were meant for copyists of the text, as several later copies of AM 61 fol. are known.[406] Accordingly, also in AM 61 fol. rubrics are only featured in places where remains of middle and small initials are found (Figure 108).[407]

In conclusion, AM 61 fol. provides good grounds for the assumption that it was intended to be a major kings' saga manuscript that probably only ever included the two major sagas about the conversion of Norway. In comparison to other textually related manuscripts, such as AM 68 fol., *Óláfs saga helga*, the second saga in AM 61 fol., was intended to be illuminated to a greater extent than any other kings' saga manuscript from the same time and earlier. Furthermore, the manuscript clearly provides an early example of the extended version of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* and thus paves the way for later and largely expanded versions of the two main texts, including Flateyjarbók, the largest of all kings' saga manuscripts.[408] The chapters introduced by a minor initial indicate that the compiler of AM 61 fol. intended to reference two important parts of the Nordic world in *Óláfs saga helga*: Orkney at Chapter 81 and Denmark at Chapter 119. The manuscript also indicates that the overall textual content was intended to depict the rise of the first king of Norway, Haraldr *hárfagri* Hálfdanarson (*c.* 850–931/32), in the first two chapters, as well as at the beginning of *Óláfs saga helga*. A similar layout is found also in

Halldór Hermannsson, pp. 13–14; Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 129–30; and Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Lýsingar í íslenskum handritum á 15. öld', pp. 162–66.

403 The chapter divisions are taken from *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, and *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen.

404 *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, pp. 8 and 22.

405 For an introduction to this method, see Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work*, pp. 52–71.

406 *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, pp. ccxxxix–ccxlii.

407 In *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, pp. xxiv, it was suggested that the small initials and rubrics were written and illuminated by H Hel 2, but all of them are unrelated in style to initials found in other manuscripts or fragments written by the same scribe. They are found on f. 48^{r} and f. 49^{rb} of AM 61 fol. Furthermore, the beginning of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* in AM 61 fol. on f. 1$^{va3–7}$ and the beginning of *Óláfs saga helga* on f. 75$^{va1–6}$, as well as f. 78$^{rb1–9}$ displays major initials painted in black. In addition, various leaves such as f. 73^{r} and f. 84^{r} include minor initials. Some of them show distant stylistic influences from Romanesque ornamentation, but all of them were ultimately added to the manuscript much later in the seventeenth century. See *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. 8.

408 For the chapter divisions of GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), see Rowe, *The Development of Flateyjarbók*, pp. 360–84.

Flateyjarbók. Nevertheless, due to the lack of major book painting in AM 61 fol., a direct contact between Magnús Þórhallsson, the second scribe and illuminator of Flateyjarbók, and the production of AM 61 fol. seems not to have taken place in the decades following the initial writing of AM 61 fol. in *c.* 1350.

Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 653 a 4to & Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands, JS fragm 7

The *Postula sögur* codex SÁM, AM 653 a 4to & LBS, JS fragm 7 was written by H Hel 2, at about the same time as DAM, AM 61 fol. Even though the text of both fragments consists of only *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*, the eleven quarto leaves are large in size and measure a maximum of 250 × 190 mm with a single column of text, thirty lines in length. The content of the codex is given in Table 36.[409]

The provenance of AM 653 a 4to remains unknown until the seventeenth century.[410] It is also unknown whether the original manuscript once included other *Postula sögur*, or whether it was intended to feature only *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*. It is likely that the codex was once much larger, since most medieval Icelandic *Postula sögur* manuscripts indeed include more than one saga. But the small size of AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7 and the single-columned text indicate that the original manuscript was not planned in the same way as the textually related SÁM, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), for example. Rather, it would have been the same size as the previously discussed *Postula sögur* manuscript SÁM, AM 239 fol., which is textually related to AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7 and to Codex Scardensis.[411] AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7 display a limited amount of book painting, all of which was possibly executed by a single illuminator, here called A Hel 7. By comparing minor letters on f. $3^{r16–18}$ in AM 653 a 4to and f. $2^{r22–24}$ in JS fragm 7, it becomes clear that they both employ the same stylistic features (Figures 109–10).

Table 36. Content and length of AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7.

Text	Fragment and Folios	Suggested Numbers of Folios	Chapters
Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs	*9	Ff. 1–9	
	AM 653 a 4to, f. 1	F. 10	17–18
	*3	Ff. 11–13	
	AM 653 a 4to, f. 2	F. 14	24–25
	*2	Ff. 15–16	
	AM 653 a 4to, ff. 3–4	Ff. 17–18	28–33
	*3	Ff. 19–21	
	AM 653 a 4to, f. 5	F. 22	38–41
	*3	Ff. 23–25	
	JS fragm 7, f. 1	F. 26	48–50
	*1	F. 27	
	JS fragm 7, f. 2	F. 28	52–55
	*7	Ff. 29–35	
	AM 653 a 4to, ff. 6–7	Ff. 36–37	80–86
	*7	Ff. 38–44	
	AM 653 a 4to, f. 8	F. 45	107–10
	*2	Ff. 46–47	
	AM 653 a 4to, f. 9	F. 48	114–18
	*2	Ff. 49–50	

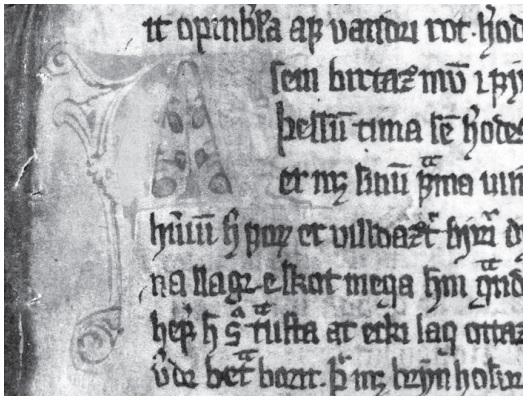

Figure 109. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 653 a 4to, f. $3^{r16–18}$. 1350. Picture from https://handrit.is.

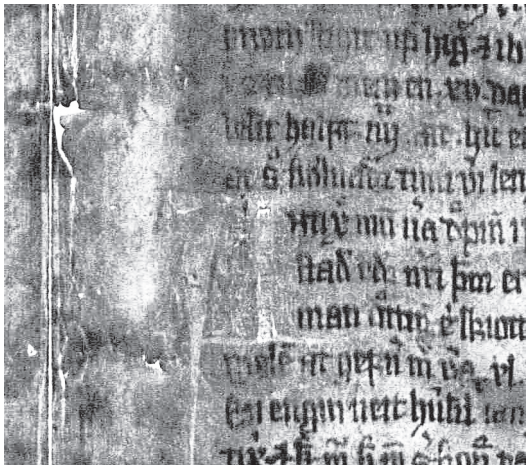

Figure 110. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands, JS fragm 7, f. $2^{r22–24}$. 1350. Picture from https://handrit.is. Photo: Landsbókasafn Íslands, reproduced with permission.

409 *Postola sögur*, ed. by Unger, p. xxiv; *Skrá um skinnblöð*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, pp. 19–20. The chapter divisions are taken from *Postola sögur*, ed. by Unger, pp. $562^{24}–565^{28}$, $574^{27}–576^{17}$, $584^{1}–87^{1}$, $587^{1}–89^{31}$, $598^{23}–601^{15}$, $610^{22}–15^{21}$, $619^{30}–22^{33}$, $663^{30}–67^{2}$, $667^{2}–70^{4}$, $694^{12}–97^{18}$ and $700^{19}–03^{17}$. Jakob Benediktsson, *Skrá um skinnblöð*, p. 19, suggested that between JS fragm 7 f. 1 and f. 2 two leaves are missing. In comparison with the corresponding saga text in SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), it is clear that only one leaf is missing.

410 For the provenance of AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7, see Kålund, *Katalog*, II, 57, and Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 23–24.

411 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 36–37.

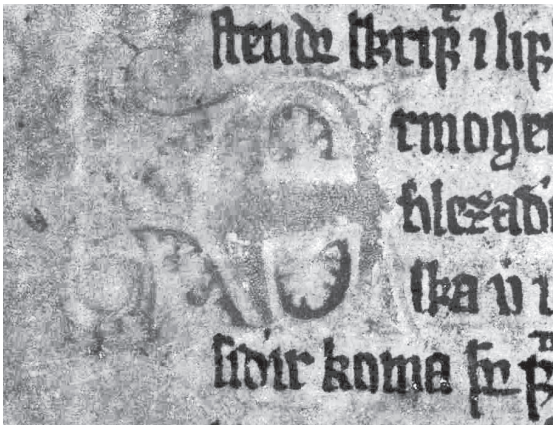

Figure 111. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 653 a 4to, f. $4^{v14–16}$. 1350. Picture from https://handrit.is.

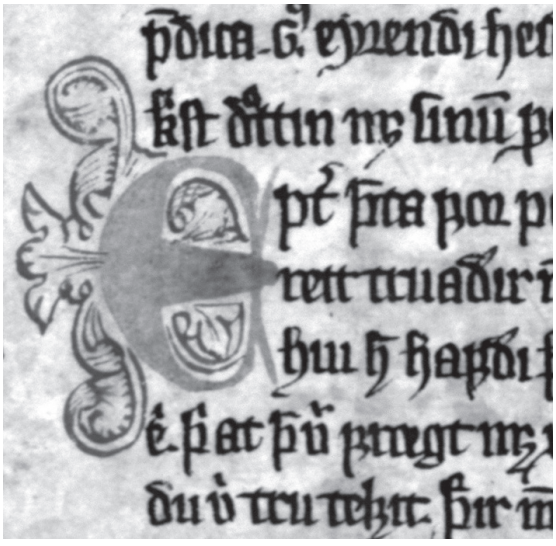

Figure 112. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), f. $10^{rb12–14}$. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is.

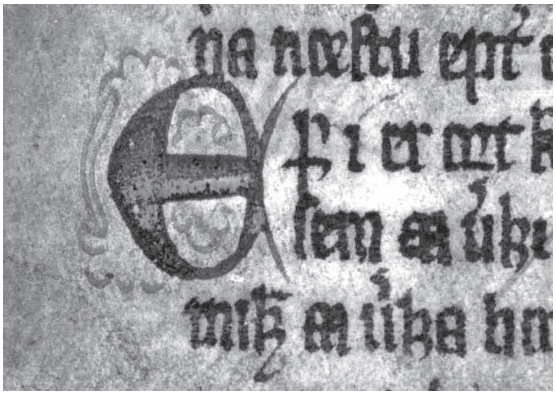

Figure 113. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 156 4to, f. $40^{v5–6}$. 1350. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Figure 114. 'Minor initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 156 4to, f. $46^{v20–21}$. 1350. Picture from https://handrit.is.

In particular, the similar shape of the letter extension, as well as the mirrored Romanesque leaf ornamentation in the inner field, resembles the work of the same hand, who had access to related ornamental models that were used for the book painting of Codex Scardensis, AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7, and partly for SÁM, AM 156 4to (Figures 111–14).[412] Examples such as the scalloped-edged combs, general features of the recoloured foliage, and the unusual filling in black are shared between the two codices, despite a less accomplished execution in AM 156 4to and AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7. All this suggests not only that AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7 share the same text with Codex Scardensis, but that the two manuscripts were most likely written and illuminated at the same workshop. This all happened after a passage of some time, since Codex Scardensis was written somewhat later. This delay might indicate the establishment of a more professional book-painting environment around H Hel 2.

412 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 167–68.

Table 37. Gatherings of AM 156 4to.

Gathering	Folios	Text	Text Length
1 (8)	Ff. 1–8	*Jónsbók*	Ff. 1^{r}–79^{r}
2 (8)	Ff. 9–16		
3 (8)	Ff. 17–24		
4 (8)	Ff. 25–32		
5 (7)	Ff. 33–39		
6 (8)	Ff. 40–47		
7 (8)	Ff. 48–53		
8 (8)	Ff. 54–61		
9 (8)	Ff. 62–69		
10 (10)	Ff. 70–79		

Table 38. Initials in AM 156 4to.

Folios	Size of Initial	Text	Section
F. $1^{v1–7}$	Large	*Jónsbók*	*Þingfararbálkr*
F. $5^{r14–18}$	Medium		*Kristindómsbálkr*
F. $7^{v3–6}$			*Mannhelgisbálkr*
F. $18^{v4–7}$			*Kvennagiftingar*
F. $27^{v13–16}$			*Framfærslubálkr*
F. $32^{v12–15}$			*Landabrigðabálkr*
F. $36^{r19–23}$			*Búnaðarbálkr*
F. $54^{v19–22}$			*Rekabálkr*
F. $59^{v9–12}$			*Kaupabálkr*
F. $67^{r15–18}$			*Farmannalǫg*
F. $74^{r5–8}$			*Þjófabálkr*

Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 156 4to

Up to ten years after DAM, AM 61 fol. and SÁM, AM 653 a 4to & LBS, JS fragm 7, H Hel 2 wrote the slightly less extravagant and largely unstudied *Jónsbók* codex SÁM, AM 156 4to.[413] The manuscript was possibly intended to be a pocket-sized law book to be carried around. This is assumed mainly because of the small size of the manuscript, the single-column layout of the text, and, finally, the small size of the initials. AM 156 4to is the smallest manuscript of those written by H Hel 2, measuring 178 × 136 mm. It is written in twenty-four to twenty-five long lines per page. The condition of the leaves varies, but apart from one missing leaf between f. 39 and f. 40, the manuscript is complete. The provenance of AM 156 4to is unknown until the seventeenth century.[414] The gatherings are given in Table 37.

The text of AM 156 4to appears to be related to SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók),[415] one of the manuscripts that was used for the textual composition of SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), which was written around ten years after AM 156 4to by the scribe H Hel 1. Accordingly, apart from the *Hirðsiðir* subsection mentioned above and the introductory *Bréf Magnúss konungs*, AM 156 4to includes the interpolated *Jónsbók* text as it is also known from Skarðsbók. Like Skarðsbók, AM 156 4to largely follows the structure and sections of the textual model, although not all of the total eighty-eight revisions of the three major law amendments to *Jónsbók* of 1294, 1305, and 1314 were included, and some were added to the margins of selected leaves of AM 156 4to by mostly later users. Apart from AM 156 4to and Skarðsbók, only two other medieval law manuscripts are related to the text of Svalbarðsbók. Both of them were written around the turn of the fifteenth century in *c*. 1400.[416]

Initials in AM 156 4to

Apart from several small initials such as the examples discussed in the previous section, AM 156 4to appears largely unilluminated. The manuscript includes a number of today empty spaces for mainly medium initials at the beginning of each of the sections of the law text (excluding the introductory *Bréf Magnúss konungs*) (Table 38).

Despite the used appearance of AM 156 4to, many of the initial spaces show traces of decorated initials,[417] such as on f. $32^{v12–15}$ (Figure 115), and the style found in these remaining initials generally resembles a similar selection of ornamental Romanesque motif patterns found in several of the manuscripts from Helgafell discussed previously. AM 156 4to follows the common rule of medieval small-size codices of only featuring the first initial in the size of a main

413 Previous research on AM 156 4to has mainly focused on the scribal features, as well as the general textual content. For these studies, see *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xlv; Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 25–27; *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. 9; and Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna'.

414 For the provenance of AM 156 4to, see Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 437–38.

415 *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xlv.

416 *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xlv. The manuscripts in question are SÁM, AM 354 fol. (Skálholtsbók yngri) and DAM, AM 126 4to. For their dating, see Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 287, and *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xlv.

417 Beeke Stegmann and Lea Debora Pokorny of the project *Bókagerð í Helgafellsklaustri á 14. öld* have recently found out that about 70 per cent of the initial spaces in AM 156 4to had once been illuminated. For this, see the website of the project at <https://www.arnastofnun.org/helgafell.html> [accessed 4 March 2021].

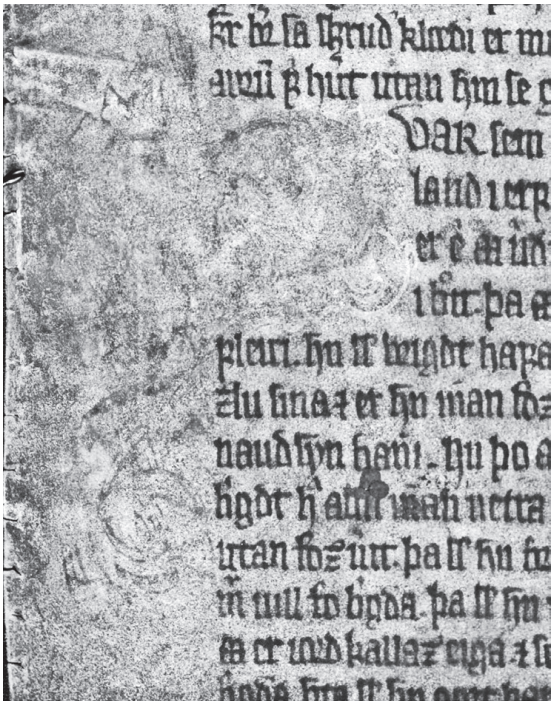

Figure 115. 'Main initial', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 156 4to, f. 32$^{v12–15}$. 1350. Picture from https://handrit.is.

initial, which is similar to its distant textual model Svalbarðsbók. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, since Svalbarðsbók cannot have been a direct textual model for AM 156 4to, the mise-en-page chosen for AM 156 4to probably followed a general trend of designing vernacular Icelandic law manuscripts with deference to their daily use.[418]

Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 238 VII fol.

DAM, AM 238 VII fol., a single leaf fragment that was probably once part of a larger codex that included saints' sagas,[419] contains an otherwise unknown redaction of *Silvesters saga*.[420] It was written by H Hel 2 some ten years after the previous three manuscripts, in *c.* 1360. No information is known about the provenance of AM 238 VII fol. The fragment contains a number of features typical of the mise-en-page as found in other manuscripts by H Hel 2, such as the layout in two columns with thirty-six lines and the considerably large size of 265 × 177 mm. At the same time, the space available for the text might have driven H Hel 2 to partly deviate from his usual writing patterns, as AM 238 VII fol. contains a number of orthographic peculiarities.[421] Unfortunately, the fragment does not include any book painting or marginal notes that would enable further deductions regarding the provenance and production of the original manuscript.

Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis)

SÁM, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis) is considered to be the most important extant vernacular codex today that contains *Postula sögur* and differs radically from the previously discussed manuscripts written by H Hel 2.[422] Codex Scardensis is among the largest manuscripts written in medieval Iceland and was once probably as large as 420 × 297 mm.[423] Originally it had ninety-five leaves laid out in two columns written mostly in thirty-eight lines each, and apart from a single leaf missing (f. 63) today Codex Scardensis is complete. The manuscript was mainly written by H Hel 2 in collaboration with the otherwise unknown scribe H Hel 11.[424] In addition, a short passage on f. 82ra–83^{ra3} was contributed by H Hel 3, who is otherwise known to have written a few comments in the margins of some leaves in the law manuscript SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), written by H Hel 1 in 1363.[425] It is likely that H Hel

418 Már Jónsson, 'The Size of Medieval Icelandic Legal Manuscripts'.

419 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 24; Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Skrifari Skarðsbókar Postulasagna', p. 206.

420 AM 238 VII fol. contains the first part of Chapter 17 up to the very beginning of Chapter 21. For the text of *Silvesters saga* in AM 238 VII fol., see *Heilagra Manna Søgur*, ed. by Unger, pp. 261–66.

421 In *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. 15, it is stated that AM 238 VII fol. includes a slightly different orthography of H Hel 2, as the former features a distinction between 'œ' and 'æ'. In AM 238 VII fol., the former is usually only written as 'ę' and the latter less frequently than in other manuscripts written by the same hand. The text of AM 238 VII fol. thus contains 'ę' much more often than usual. According to Ólafur Halldórsson, this 'is certainly not to be taken to show a change in scribal custom but is due rather to [H Hel 2]'s tendency to select letter-forms according to the space available, remembering that the line-length in 238 is 20 mm less than in [AM] 61 [fol.]'.

422 For editions of the texts in SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), see *Postola sögur*, ed. by Unger; *Sögur úr Skarðsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson; *Mattheus saga postula*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson. On the text and provenance, see *Codex Scardensis*, ed. by Slay, pp. 7 and 16–18; Collings, 'Codex Scardensis'; Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 20–21; Jóhannes Nordal, 'Ferill Skarðsbókar'; Jóhannes Nordal, *The History of Skarðsbók*; and Sigurgeir Steingrímsson and Hersteinn Brynjólfsson, 'Codex Scardensis'.

423 *Mattheus saga postula*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xlii.

424 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 18; *Mattheus saga postula*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xlii.

425 Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Skarðsbók – Origins and History', p. 47.

Table 39. Gatherings, textual arrangement, and dating of SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis). Underlined parts indicate contents added later added at a later time.

Gathering	Folios	Text	Text Length	Hand	Date
1 (8)	Ff. 1–8	*Tíundargerð á Skarðströnd*	F. $1^{ra1–18}$	<u>H Ska 1</u>	1507–23
		Máldagi kirkjunnar á Skarði	F. $1^{rb19–27}$	<u>H Ska 2</u>	1533
2 (10)	Ff. 9–18	*Pétrs saga postula*	Ff. 1^{va}–27^{va30}	H Hel 2	1360–70
3 (8)	Ff. 19–26				
4 (6)	Ff. 27–32	*Páls saga postula*	Ff. 27^{va31}–36^{rb32}		
5 (6)	Ff. 33–38	*Andrésss saga postula*	Ff. 36^{va}–39^{vb}		
6 (8)	Ff. 39–46	*Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*	Ff. 40^{ra}–81^{vb}		
7 (6)	Ff. 47–52				
8 (8)	Ff. 53–60				
9 (8)	Ff. 61–68				
10 (8)	Ff. 69–76				
11 (6)	Ff. 77–82	*Tómass saga postula*	Ff. 82^{ra}–85^{va29}	H Hel 3	
12 (8)	Ff. 83–90	*Filippus saga postula*	Ff. 85^{va30}–86^{ra11}	H Hel 11	
		Jakobs saga postula	Ff. 86^{ra12}–86^{rb30}		
		Barthólómeus saga postula	Ff. 86^{rb31}–88^{va15}		
		Matthías saga postula	Ff. 88^{va16}–89^{rb33}		
13 (5)	Ff. 91–95	*Tveggja postula saga Símonar ok Júdasar*	Ff. 89^{rb34}–92^{ra17}		
		Mattheus saga postula	Ff. 92^{ra18}–94^{va18}		
		Máldagi kirkjunnar á Skarði	Ff. 94^{vb}–95^{ra}	<u>H Ska 3, H Ska 4, Eilífr</u>	1401
Note: For literature on the dating of all sections, see Table 1.					

3 not only wrote but also illuminated a main initial in this short passage in Codex Scardensis. As part of a number of later production units in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, two church inventories (*máldagar*) were added on f. 1^{r} and ff. 94^{v}–95^{r}, as well as a short tithe account on f. 1^{r}. Apart from the letter, which was partly written in 1401 by a priest named Eilífr, the remaining four scribes (H Ska 1–4) are unknown by name.[426] Codex Scardensis contains thirteen gatherings.[427] The gatherings, content, and individual dating of the different production units are given in Table 39.

The earliest provenance of Codex Scardensis is well recorded. According to a short entry in the second *máldagi* on ff. 94^{vb}–95^{ra}, it was given to the church at Skarð in 1401 by the local *lǫgmaðr* and *hirðstjóri* Ormr Snorrason (1320–*c.* 1402), a member of the influential Skarðverjar family in western Iceland.[428] The name Ormr appears three times in the margins of the codex on f. 8^{r}, f. 94^{v}, and f. 95^{r} which have been dated to *c.* 1400, but it remains uncertain whether they were written by Ormr himself.[429] Ormr's gift is also confirmed in an entry in the church charter *Vilchinsmáldagi* from 1397, where it is stated that he gave half of the manuscript to the church at Skarð,[430] while the second half remained in the possession of the farmer at the same site.[431] The manuscript remained at that location until 1827.

426 *Codex Scardensis*, ed. by Slay, pp. 11–12.

427 For the restoration and current binding of SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), see Sigurgeir Steingrímsson and Hersteinn Brynjólfsson, 'Codex Scardensis', pp. 41–55, and Jóhannes Nordal, *The History of Skarðsbók*, pp. 33–34.

428 For potential manuscripts that were commissioned by Ormr Snorrason, see Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, 'Af fiskrykni og hvalbera'.

429 *Codex Scardensis*, ed. by Slay, pp. 12–13.

430 Helgi Þorláksson has argued convincingly that Ormr Snorrason may have been very fond of St Peter, whose saga is put first in SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis). The parish church at Skarð á Skarðströnd owned a statue of the saint by the time Codex Scardensis was written, and as discussed above, a new consecration of the same church during the fourteenth century states the saint as patron second after Mary. See Helgi Þorláksson, 'Aristocrats between Kings and Tax-Paying Farmers', p. 283.

431 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 158–59. In *Codex Scardensis*, ed. by Slay, p. 13, is has been assumed that another likely client for SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis) might have been the father of Ormr Snorrason, Snorri Narfason (d. 1322). This has been dismissed by Ólafur Halldórsson in *Helgafellsbækur*

Table 40. Major initials in SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis).

Size	Letter	Text	Chapter	Iconography
F. 1$^{va21–25}$	H	*Pétrs saga postula*		Peter the Apostle
F. 27$^{va31–36}$	H	*Páls saga postula*		Paul the Apostle
F. 36$^{va3–7}$	H	*Andréss saga postula*		*Ornamented*
F. 40$^{ra1–5}$	F	*Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*	Prologue	John the Apostle
F. 40$^{va9–17}$	E		1	*Ornamented*
F. 47$^{rb19–25}$	A		21	James the Great
F. 50$^{rb1–6}$	T		28	*Ornamented*
F. 53$^{ra33–37}$	A		37	*Ornamented*
F. 82$^{ra1–7}$	Þ	*Tómass saga postula*		Thomas the Apostle
F. 85$^{va30–34}$	H	*Filippus saga postula*		*Ornamented*
F. 88$^{va15–19}$	S	*Matthías saga postula*		*Ornamented*
F. 89$^{rb32–37}$	Þ	*Tveggja postula saga Símonar ok Júdasar*		Bartholomew the Apostle
F. 92$^{ra17–22}$	T	*Mattheus saga postula*		*Ornamented*

All sagas found in Codex Scardensis are vernacular versions of Latin sources translated into Old Norse in the thirteenth century.[432] As discussed, the *Postula saga Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs* is also found in SÁM, AM 653 a 4to & LBS, JS fragm. 7, as well as in SÁM, AM 239 fol., which was written by the previously discussed scribe H Hel 1.

The Book Painting of SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis)

Despite its impressive size and content, Codex Scardensis includes rather few illuminations. As in some of the other illuminated manuscripts from Helgafell, many of the uniformly yellow-coloured major initials display elongated shafts framed by Romanesque ornamentation. The background panels are usually coloured in blue with a foliage that consists of leafy spirals on the elongated shafts. The codex includes thirteen large initials, six of which are historiated (Table 40).[433]

Codex Scardensis was mainly the work of a single illuminator, A Hel 5.[434] Some parallels can be drawn

Figure 116. 'Zoomorphic ornamentation', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), f. 36$^{va3–7}$. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is.

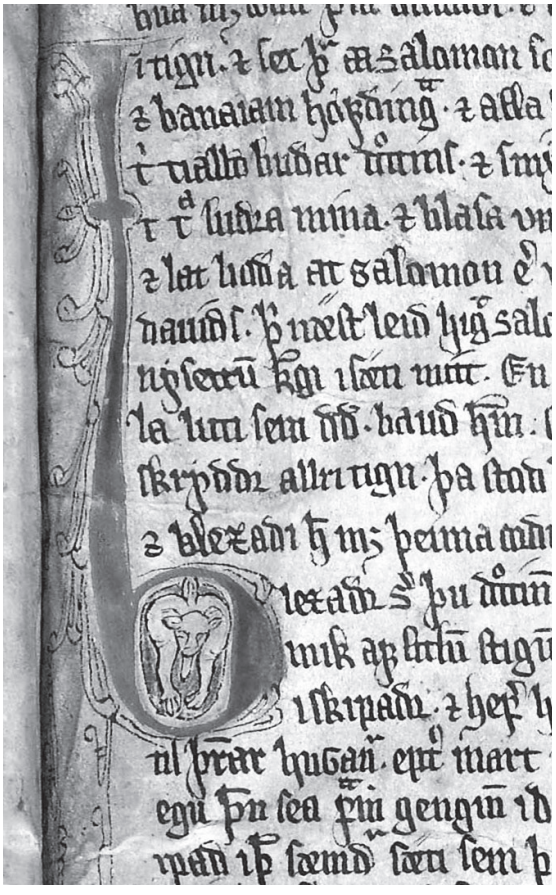

Figure 117. 'Zoomorphic ornamentation', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 96$^{ra14–16}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

fornar, p. 18, since Snorri Narfason died too early to be considered a patron of this work.

432 Collings, 'Codex Scardensis', pp. 1–2. For the recensions of these sagas, see *Postola sögur*, ed. by Unger, pp. xiv–xxvii, and Wolf, *The Legends of the Saints*, pp. 32–34, 51–54, 159–61, 175–80, 250–56, 304–06, 314–17, 321–22, 333–35, and 351–53.

433 In addition to the major initials, three minor initials are found on f. 70$^{vb10–27}$, f. 73$^{rb28–31}$ and f. 73$^{vb6–9}$, within *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*. They contain either foliage patterns related to those found in the major initials, or face masks which are found in a further thirteen minor initials throughout the manuscript.

434 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 94–109.

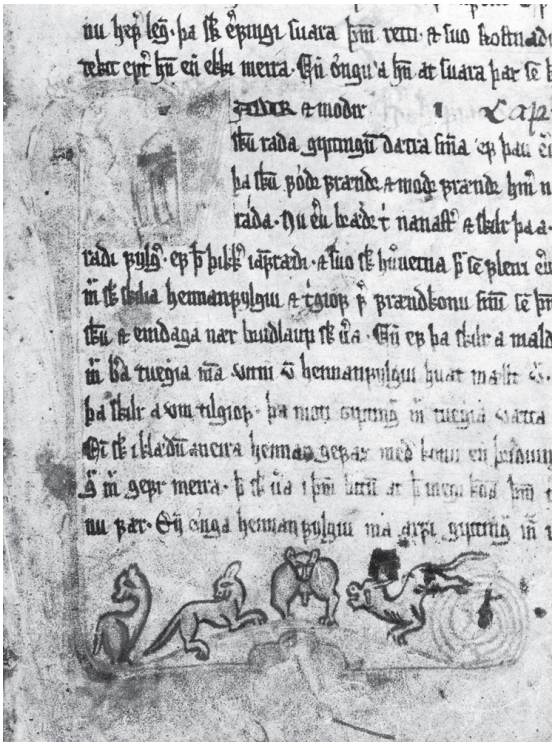

Figure 118. 'Zoomorphic ornamentation', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 168 a 4to, f. 17r. 1360.

Figure 120. 'Spiralling tendrils', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 45 fol. (Codex Frisianus), f. 41vb25–32. 1325. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Figure 119. 'Spiralling tendrils', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), f. 40va9–17. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is.

between the stylistic patterns in Codex Scardensis and the fourteenth-century *Postula sögur* manuscript AM 653 b I 4to & AM 653 b II 4to (both SÁM),[435] but they are few in number: most importantly, the leafy spirals with protruding scalloped combs of the small initials in Codex Scardensis are only comparable on a general level and are known from many other manuscripts of the time. A number of ornamental models used for the major initials refer to the previously discussed illuminator and scribe Magnús Þórhallsson and the law codex SÁM, AM 168 a 4to from the Helgafell network, but only on the basis of shared models (Figures 116–18).[436] Also of note is the close stylistic reference of one illuminated main initial to the kings' saga manuscript DAM, AM 45 fol. (Codex Frisianus), which was produced in *c.* 1300–25 (Figures 119–20).[437]

Despite the stylistically related ornamental forms of spiralling tendrils and the similar style and colouring of the main initial, both works were clearly produced by two different illuminators, since Codex Scardensis was illuminated some fifty years

435 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 25; Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 57; Stefán Karlsson, pers. comm., 1988.

436 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 95, and 151–53.

437 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 233; Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 32.

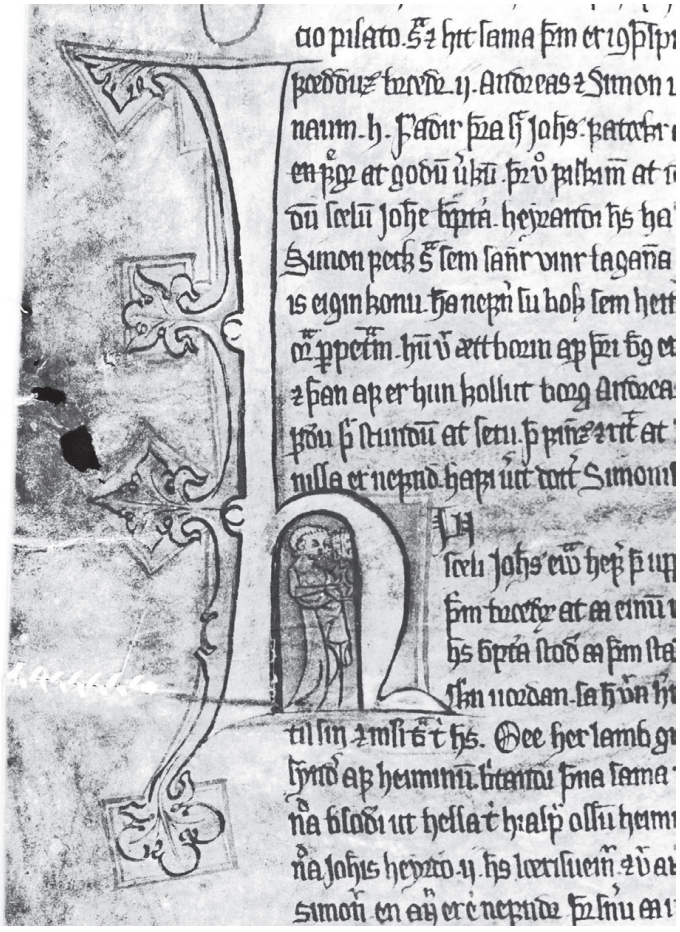

Figure 121. 'St Peter', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), f. 1$^{va21–25}$. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is.

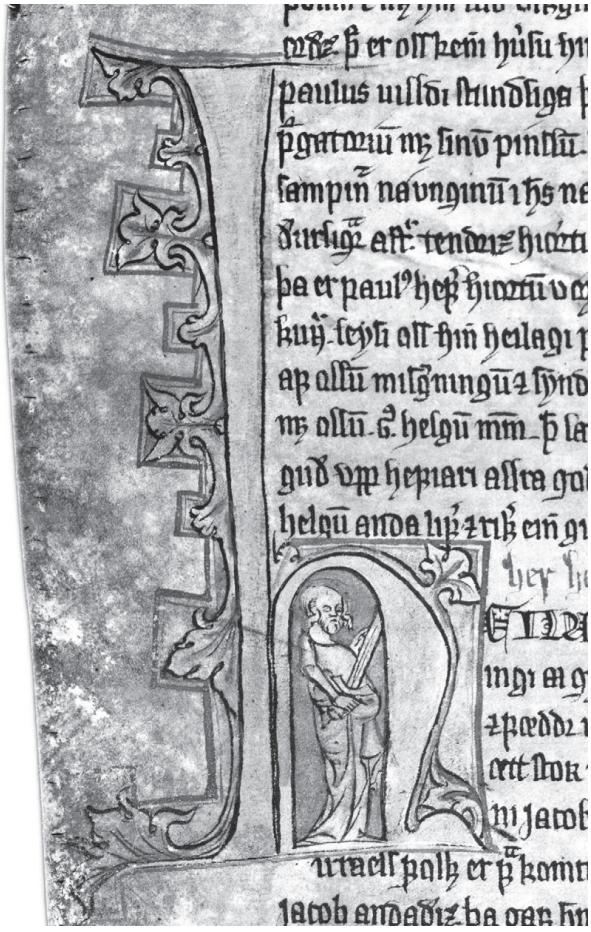

Figure 122. 'St Paul', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), f. 27$^{va31–36}$. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is.

after Codex Frisianus. Codex Frisianus belongs to a group of manuscripts produced in the broader Barðastrandasýsla area in *c.* 1300–70. Apart from the single initial in Codex Scardensis, no further artistic influence is found in manuscripts from H Hel 2. This suggests that A Hel 5 was possibly in contact with that group at the time that Codex Scardensis was produced.[438]

Each of the six historiated initials in Codex Scardensis marks the beginning of either a new saga or a major chapter. In each initial, single S-curved figures are shown, turned towards the text with a halo and long robes. Lena Liepe has described the style of the figural painting in Codex Scardensis as featuring facial traits with at times empty eyes, comparatively broad noses, small, closed mouths, and curled hair. The black-contoured clothing is largely dominated by tunics, the drapery of which is painted with curved, unbroken pleats and triangular, bulging, and rather thick folds.[439] As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the figural style in Codex Scardensis is somewhat related to manuscripts from the wider Helgafell network, with notable references made to the *Heilagra manna sögur* codex DAM, AM 233 a fol. and the law manuscript SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók). Furthermore, it was previously claimed that distant alleged affinities exist with the later Helgafell manuscript DAM, AM 225 fol.,[440] but none of these stylistic references suggest a similar craftsman. A Hel 5, the illuminator of Codex Scardensis, thus seems to have worked mostly independently from the other Helgafell-related illuminators.

At the beginning of *Pétrs saga postula* on f. 1$^{va21–25}$, St Peter is depicted before a green background (Figure 121). He is shown with a golden halo, beard, and long red robe and holds in his left hand the

438 Drechsler, 'Illuminated Manuscript Production', pp. 181–86.

439 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 94.

440 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 25; Liepe, *Studies*, p. 112.

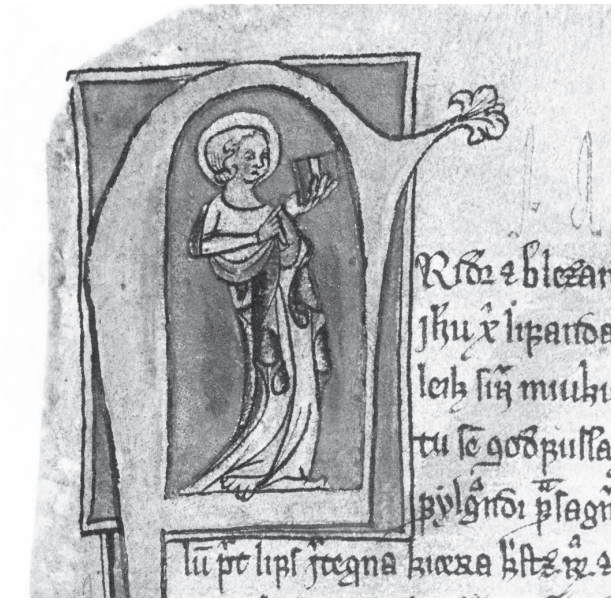

Figure 123. 'St John', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), f. 40$^{ra1–5}$. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is.

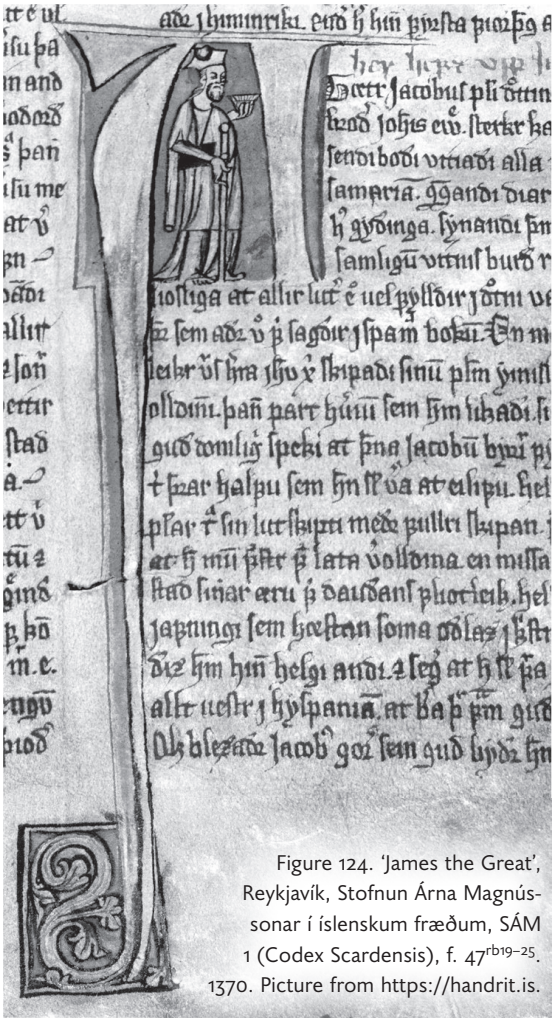

Figure 124. 'James the Great', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), f. 47$^{rb19–25}$. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is.

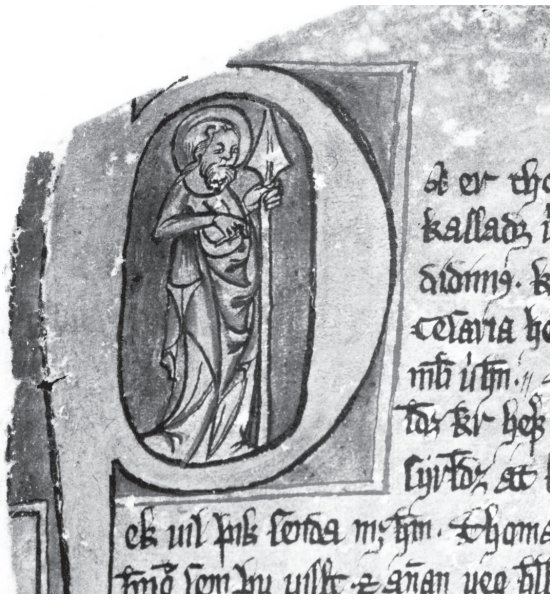

Figure 125. 'St Thomas', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), f. 82$^{ra1–7}$. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Keys of Heaven, supported by his right hand. This composition is followed again in the next initial at the beginning of *Páls saga postula* on f. 27$^{va31–36}$ (Figure 122). It depicts St Paul in a similar fashion, but this time before a blue background. He has a largely bald head, a long beard, and a red halo. The saint holds a large sword in his right hand, which is a common attribute.

The next historiated initial is found on f. 40$^{ra1–5}$ at the beginning of *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*, the main saga of the codex (Figure 123). In the inner field, St John is depicted before a red background. He has a yellow halo and wears a long, yellow robe with a blue lining. The saint holds one of his attributes in his left hand, a blue-coloured book. The other arm points towards the book. It is noteworthy that the right foot of St John trespasses upon the initial letter and is slightly painted over in the colour of the initial letter with a black stroke. This detail indicates either that the initial letter was painted before the counter was added, or that the borders were painted first. *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs* also features a second historiated initial on f. 47$^{rb19–25}$. This initial starts the saga about James the Great and depicts the saint (Figure 124). He is depicted with his most important attribute, a scallop; in his right hand he holds a walking stick and a black-coloured book. A black-coloured scallop is shown a second time on the front of the yellow-coloured hat of the saint.

On f. 82$^{ra1–7}$, the only folio written by H Hel 3, the *Tómass saga postula* is introduced (Figure 125).

The initial depicts the eponymous saint before a dark yellow background. He holds a pointed spear in his left hand. The other hand points towards the lower part of the spear, indicating it to be the weapon of his martyrdom. By comparison, the size and posture of the figure, as well as the use of colours, are unlike all other examples from Codex Scardensis. This initial, therefore, was either painted by another illuminator, or added by the same hand when this part of the text was written. Since the text and image are both so peculiar, they were probably both completed by H Hel 3. The last of the historiated initials is found at the beginning of the *Tveggja postula saga Símonar ok Júdasar* on f. 89$^{rb32–37}$ (Figure 126). In conflict with the introduced saga, the figure depicted in the initial is St Bartholomew,[441] since the saint holds a knife in his left hand in a clear reference to his martyrdom. It remains unclear why the saint was depicted at this point in the manuscript, since he would have been more appropriately placed on f. 86^{rb31} at the beginning of *Barthólómeus saga postula*. On that particular leaf, no space for a major initial remained, and it seems that the scribe H Hel 11 must have forgotten to leave the appropriate space for the intended main initial, which was obviously added later. The suggested later addition of the main initial on f. 89$^{rb32–37}$ might also indicate why the background of this initial is unusually embellished with red coloured, three-dotted items at the outer corners and red leafy lines and single dots around the saint in the middle. It is the only historiated initial that includes ornamentation on the inner field. An ornamented main initial on f. 92$^{ra17–22}$ displays the same variety of decoration. It is possible, therefore, that the illuminator intended to present the last two initials of the manuscript more elaborately than those found previously. The use of the three-dotted ornamentation is found in various Icelandic manuscripts

Figure 126. 'St Bartholomew', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), f. 89$^{rb32–37}$. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is.

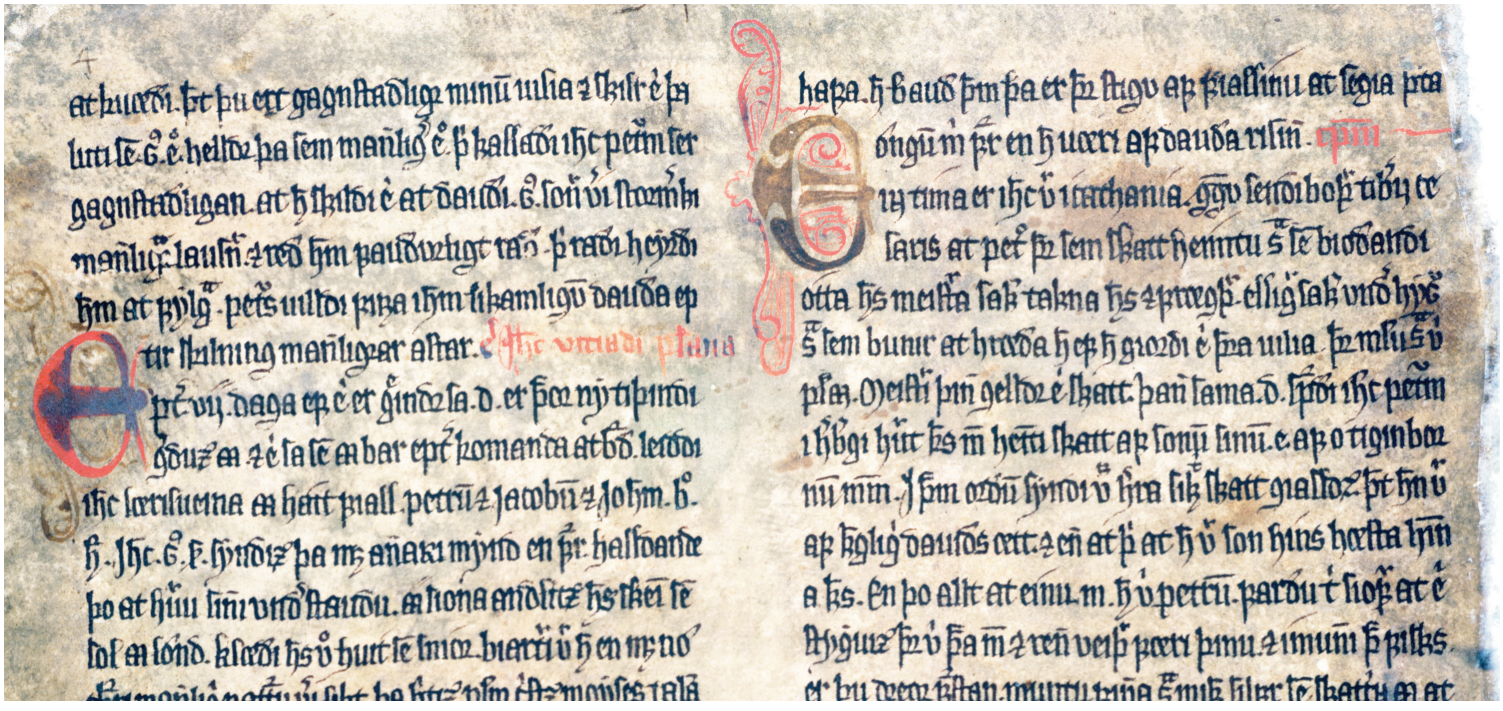

Figure 127. 'Oxidation of rubrics and initials', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), f. 2^{v}. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is.

441 *Sögur úr Skarðsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. 13.

from the fourteenth century,[442] such as DAM, AM 226 fol. and its copy AM 225 fol. from *c.* 1400.[443]

It remains unclear exactly when Codex Scardensis was illuminated, but it can be assumed that this happened no later than *c.* 1370. Since all the rubrics in Codex Scardensis were written by the hand H Hel 12, it has been suggested that these were added by the same person who was also responsible for the book painting.[444] This assumption is not based on codicological observation, since in a great number of rubrics written by this hand oxidation is visible. The same oxidation appears again in many of the minor initials that are painted in red throughout the manuscript (Figure 127). The major initials painted in red are unaffected, which suggests a different pigment or formulation was used. This might indicate that it was also a different person who was responsible for the ornamentation and historiated book painting. The overpainting of one foot of St John on f. $40^{ra1–5}$ might be another indication for the assumption that the rubricator H Hel 12 only painted the letters of the major initials, not the historiated book painting. This was certainly carried out by the professional single illuminator A Hel 5. The initial on f. $82^{ra1–7}$ must be excluded from the œuvre of A Hel 5, due to the stylistic differences explained earlier. It seems reasonable to assume that this illumination was done by H Hel 3, who wrote only this leaf. Other book paintings by this scribe and illuminator are unknown. H Hel 3 did also write a few comments in the margins of SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók). It would be logical to assume that if this hand was responsible for the book painting of the single initial on f. $82^{ra1–7}$ in Codex Scardensis, he might also have left some traces in the book painting of Skarðsbók. This is not the case. Skarðsbók was undoubtedly illuminated by the 'Helgafell Master' who has no stylistic connections to Codex Scardensis, nor to other manuscripts written by H Hel 2. Despite the change of illuminator and scribe on ff. $82^{ra}–83^{ra3}$, Codex Scardensis must be considered a manuscript whose compiler had a clear idea of what should be included in the codex.

Both the selection of saints' sagas and the exclusive focus on the symbolisms of the saints in the historiated initials suggest that the manuscript was intended to be used in an ecclesiastical environment. The dedication of the client Ormr Snorrason to the church at Skarð and the subsequent receipt of the manuscript also indicate this. The book painting of Codex Scardensis was therefore most likely finished soon after the completion of the text in 1370, or at the latest in 1401 when it was given to the church of Skarð. The estate of Skarð is located not far from the monastery of Helgafell, and it is reasonable to assume that Ormr made use of the experienced scriptorium there. At the same time, the style and illuminator of Codex Scardensis, A Hel 5, does not relate to the output of any of the illuminators that worked together with the first main hand from Helgafell, H Hel 1, and seems only to draw on the use of common ornamental models. This stylistic distance is further indicated by the fact that Codex Scardensis is the only manuscript written by H Hel 2 that offers a stylistic resemblance with the Barðastrandasýsla group, a group which was potentially situated at the north of Breiðafjörður — north of Helgafell and Skarð á Skarðströnd (see Map 1, above).[445] Similar to the Helgafell group, the Barðastrandasýsla group has a variety of scribes and illuminators, as outlined in Table 41.[446]

Despite the lack of direct codicological connection between the two main hands from the Barðastrandasýsla group, they present such similar palaeographic references that they are assumed not only to have belonged to a similar scribal milieu, but also to have been written at the same place and time.[447] This same similarity and assumption also apply to the illuminations found in the group.[448] One of these two illuminators, A Bar 1, also illuminated the *Maríu saga* fragment Oslo, Riksarkivet, NRA 78, which belongs to an older manuscript

442 Selma Jónsdóttir, 'The Illuminations of Helgastaðabók', p. 222.

443 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 107–08.

444 *Codex Scardensis*, ed. by Slay, p. 10.

445 In *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. xxxix–xli, it has been suggested that the group is of western Icelandic origin, more precisely from the northern part of Breiðafjörður at the Barðaströnd district. Louis-Jensen, 'Fra skriptoriet i Vatnsfjörður', has suggested that the Barðastrandasýsla group originates from the estate of Vatnsfjörður. Little is known about a possible scriptorium at Vatnsfjörður until 1468 when a *skriftstofa* is mentioned at that site, according to *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, V, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 455. This lack of evidence has led Lena Liepe in *Studies*, pp. 235–38, to argue against Louis-Jensen's theory and to suggest instead a Westfjords provenance of the whole group. I am inclined to follow Lena Liepe's conclusion, and recall Stefán Karlsson's suggestion that the group was written at Barðastrandarsýsla.

446 *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, pp. 19–21; Louis-Jensen, 'Fra skriptoriet i Vatnsfjörður'; *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. xxxix–xli; Drechsler, 'Illuminated Manuscript Production', pp. 183–86.

447 *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. xl–xli.

448 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 235–38. Lena Liepe has shown in *Studies*, pp. 240–42, that, apart from the three hands mentioned above, the Barðastrandasýsla group consisted of three illuminators, two of whom were responsible for the major initials and penflourishings in most of the illuminated manuscripts (A Bar 1 and A Bar 2).

Table 41. The Barðastrandasýsla manuscripts.

Shelf Mark and Name	Collection	No. of Folios	Hands (H)	Illuminators (A)	Main Content	Date	Cols	Lines	Size (max.)
AM 325 VIII 4c 4to	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	2	H Bar 1 (ff. 1^{r}–2^{v})	None	*Sverris saga Sigurðarsonar, Bǫglunga saga*	1300–25[449]	1	30	240 × 174 mm
AM 45 fol. (Codex Frisianus)	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	124	H Bar 1 (ff. 1^{r}–97^{vb}, 98^{vb}–124^{r}), H Bar 3 (f. 98$^{ra–va}$)	A Bar 1 (ff. 1$^{r–v}$, 14^{r}, 18^{v}, 19^{v}, 21^{v}, 23^{v}, 29^{r}, 37^{r}, 41^{v}, 56^{v}, 60^{v}, 66^{v}, 69^{v}, 75^{r}, 84^{r}), A Bar 2 (ff. 1^{r}–124^{r})	*Heimskringla, Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*	1300–25[450]	2	38	310 × 240 mm
AM 241 a I fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	48	H Bar 1 (ff. 1^{r}–48^{v})	A Bar 2 (ff. 1^{r}–48^{v})	*Kalendarium, Psalterium*	1325[451]	2	27	300 × 216 mm
MS Perg. Isl. 4:o 4 & AM 325 XI 2h 4to	Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket & Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	73	H Bar 2 (ff. 1^{r}–73^{v})	A Bar 2 (ff. 1^{r}–73^{v})	*Óláfs saga helga*	1320–40[452]	2	36	235 × 180 mm
AM 671 4to	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	62	H Bar 2 (ff. 5^{r}, 17^{r}–26^{r}, 30^{r}–31^{v}, 33^{v}–34^{r}, 34^{v}, 35$^{r–v}$, 63^{r}), further hands[453]	None	Theological handbook[454]	1320–40[455]	1	32–33	220 × 164 mm
		1	Snorri Andrésson (f. 63^{r})		Note: 'þessa bok hefer snorri aandresson bvndit | ok skarttada ravdu skini'	1340[456]	None	2	
AM 241 b I γ fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	1	Unknown	A Bar 2 (f. 1$^{r–v}$)	*Psalterium*	1325–50[457]	2	27	302 × 238 mm
AM 399 4to (Codex Resenianus)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	74	H Bar 2 (ff. 1^{v}–74^{v})	A Bar 2 (ff. 1^{v}–74^{v})	*Guðmundar saga byskups*	1330–50[458]	1	24	224 × 166 mm
AM 346 fol. (Staðarfellsbók)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	84	H Bar 2 (ff. 1^{r}–84^{r})	A Bar 2 (ff. 1^{r}–84^{r})	*Jónsbók, Járnsíða, Kristinréttr Árna byskups, Grágás*	1340–60[459]	1	27–31	248 × 180 mm
		1	Unknown (f. 85^{r})	None	*Lagaformálar*	1500–25		34	
KBAdd 1 fol. (*Ártíðaskrá Vestfirðinga*)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	7	H Bar 2 (ff. 1^{r}–7^{v})	A Bar 2 (ff. 1^{r}–7^{v})	*Ártíðaskrá Vestfirðinga*	1326[460]	1	30	274 × 207 mm
AM 122 a fol. (Króksfjarðarbók)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	110	H Bar 2 (ff. 63^{r}–69^{v}, 95^{r}–109^{v}), H Bar 4 (ff. 1^{r}–43^{r}), H Bar 5 (ff. 43^{v}–62^{v}), H Bar 6 (ff. 70^{r}–94^{v})	A Bar 2 (ff. 1^{r}–110^{v})	*Sturlunga saga*	1350–70[461]	2	37	350 × 250 mm

449 *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, pp. 19–20.
450 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, p. 32.
451 *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, pp. 19–20.
452 *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, p. 942; *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. xxxix–xl and xli.
453 For all scribal contributions to AM 671 4to, see Drechsler, 'Jón Halldórsson and Law Manuscripts'.
454 For the content of AM 671 4to, see Vadum, 'Bruk av kanonisk litteratur i Nidarosprovinsen', and Drechsler, 'Jón Halldórsson and Law Manuscripts'.
456 *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. xl and xli.
457 *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. xl and xli.
458 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 229. A palaeographic analysis of AM 241 b I γ fol. is yet to be written.
459 *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. xli.
460 *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. xxxix–xli.
461 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 187.
462 *Sturlunga saga*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, p. 11; *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. xxxix–xli.

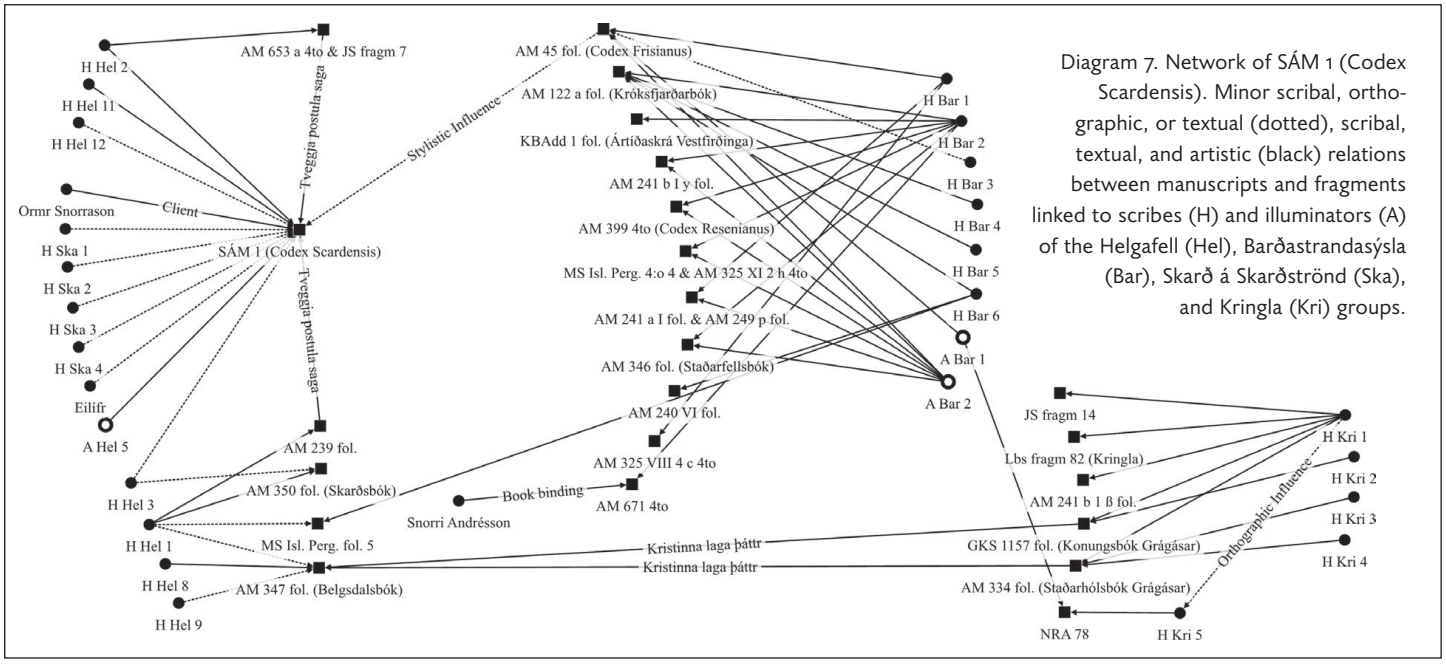

Diagram 7. Network of SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis). Minor scribal, orthographic, or textual (dotted), scribal, textual, and artistic (black) relations between manuscripts and fragments linked to scribes (H) and illuminators (A) of the Helgafell (Hel), Barðastrandasýsla (Bar), Skarð á Skarðströnd (Ska), and Kringla (Kri) groups.

group, the Kringla group.[462] Finally, as mentioned in Chapter 2, DAM, AM 671 4to from the Barðastrandasýsla group was bound by a craftsman named Snorri Andrésson who worked at Helgafell from around *c.* 1340. It is tempting to assume that the illuminator A Hel 5 was working at Skarð and came into contact there with the displayed ornamental model from the Barðastrandasýsla, but no evidence exists to confirm this assumption. In conclusion, as do manuscripts produced by H Hel 1, Codex Scardensis provides good evidence for a wider network of scribes, illuminators, and rubricators which contributed in one way or another to its production (Diagram 7).

Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol. (ff. 15–27)

After the production of Codex Scardensis, H Hel 2 wrote the second part of DAM, AM 233 a fol., ff. 15–27. As has been suggested, the blank side of the leaf on f. 15^{r} seems to have been the original start.[463] This corresponds well with the fact that all the leaves of Part II were known to have existed for some time, while all other leaves were collected from various sites.[464] The texts on ff. 15–27 contains female saints' sagas exclusively (Table 42).

Table 42. Textual content of AM 233 a fol. (ff. 15–27).

Length	Text
F. 15$^{va–b}$	*Fídesar saga, Spesar ok Karítasar*
Ff. 16ra–19^{rb}	*Katrínar saga*
Ff. 19va–25^{vb}	*Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu*
F. 26$^{ra1–14}$	*Agnesar saga*
Ff. 26^{ra14}–27^{rb1}	*Agǫtu saga*
F. 27$^{rb17–vb}$	*Margrétar saga*

Most of the redactions of these sagas are little dependent on translations of the original Latin sources and are often of a later date than previous versions.[465] In that respect, the virgin martyr legends in AM 233 a fol. seem to follow a similar pattern to the previously discussed pseudohistorical sagas in DAM, AM 226 fol. It is likely that AM 233 a fol. was produced for educational purposes, as this is also reflected in the historiated book painting.

The Book Painting of AM 233 a fol. (ff. 15–27)

The style of the minor book painting of the first part in AM 233 a fol. is consistent throughout AM 233 a fol. Considering the formal qualities of the minor initials and ornamentation, both parts of AM 233 a fol. were illuminated by a single illuminator, A Hel 2. The

462 See Chapter 4, and Drechsler, 'Illuminated Manuscript Production'.
463 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 31.
464 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 35.
465 Wolf, 'Saga af Fídes, Spes ok Karitas', p. 45; Wolf, *The Legends of the Saints*, pp. 18, 22, 112, 217, and 223.

Table 43. Major initials in AM 233 a fol. (ff. 15–27).

Size	Letter	Text	Iconography
F. 15$^{va1–6}$	Þ	*Fídesar saga, Spesar ok Karítasar*	Martyrdom of Fides
F. 19$^{va39–42}$	A	*Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu*	Martha, Mary Magdalene, and Lazarus
F. 26$^{ra15–20}$	K	*Agǫtu saga*	Martyrdom of Agatha
F. 27$^{rb33–37}$	T	*Margrétar saga*	Margaret of Antioch and the Devil

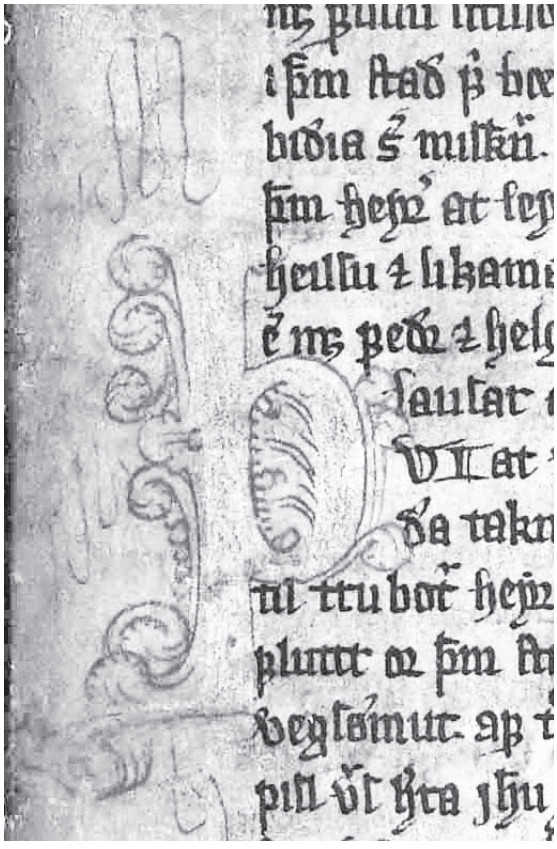

Figure 128. 'Minor initial', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. 25$^{ra35–37}$. 1375. Picture from http://handrit.org.

restricted use of bicolour painting in the minor initials and a similar style of pen-flourishing in the two parts are closely related (Figures 128–29). The particular use of *œufs-de-grenouille* in the two parts is otherwise found only in SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók). This suggests that A Hel 2 was working on AM 233 a fol. together with both H Hel 2 and H Hel 1, who wrote Skarðsbók and the first part of AM 233 a fol. Surprisingly, no change in colours is found in the minor initials in both sections of AM 233 a fol., which suggests that all of these minor paintings were either executed in *c.* 1375 when the second production unit was finished, or were painted separately with a similar range of colours (Figures 130–31).

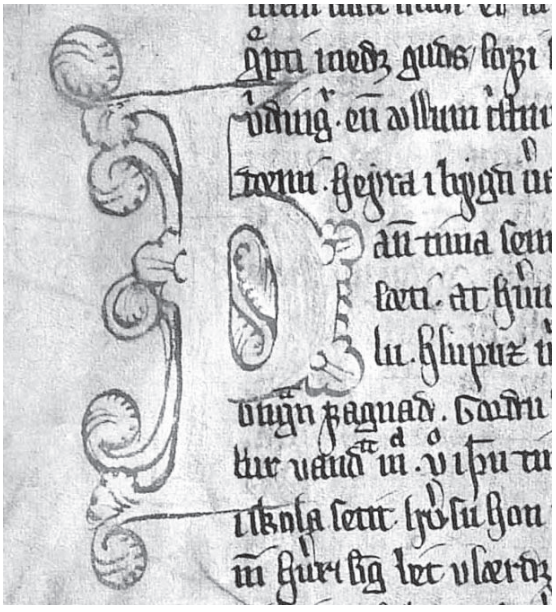

Figure 129. 'Minor initial', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. 8$^{va5–7}$. 1350. Picture from http://handrit.org.

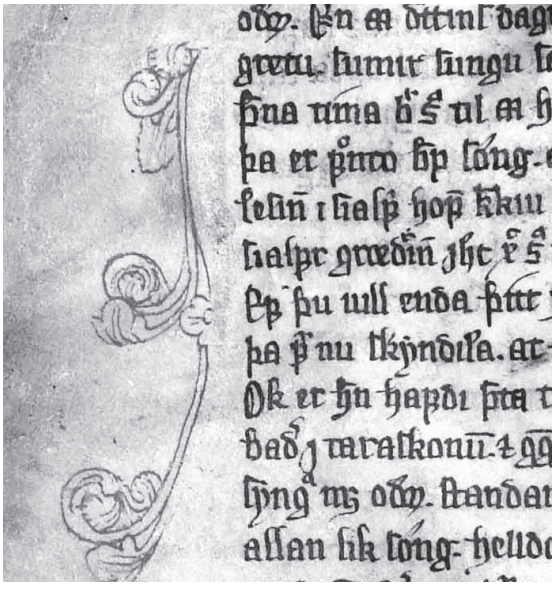

Figure 130. 'Minor initial', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. 24$^{va12–17}$. 1375. Picture from http://handrit.org.

The major initials in the second part of AM 233 a fol. are rendered exclusively in a distinctive dark green colour,[466] while the first part employs a variety of colours and layouts. The background colour, however, remains light blue throughout. Highlighting of the drapery and overall contours of the figures and the ornamentation of the major initials in black

466 Liepe, 'Image, Script and Ornamentation', p. 258.

Figure 131. 'Minor initial', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. $7^{vb45-47}$. 1350. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Figure 132. 'Fides, Spes, and Caritas', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. 15^{va1-6}. 1375. Picture by Beeke Stegmann using a Multi-Spectral Scanner. Reproduced with permission.

is found in the first part of AM 233 a fol., while the second part displays only red contours. At the same time, the previously mentioned 'peppercorn eyes' in the second production unit of AM 233 a fol. are closely related to both the first section of AM 233 a fol. and Skarðsbók. The execution of the figural traits in the second part are more advanced than in Skarðsbók, as seen in the drapery and facial traits. Furthermore, the historiated initials in AM 233 a fol. are closely related in iconographic terms. As in the first production unit of AM 233 a fol., they introduce new sagas and mainly contain a single figure, the female saint of the introduced text. The size and iconographic content of the four remaining historiated initials are given in Table 43.

The first initial on f. 15^{va1-6} introduces the fragmentary *Fidesar saga, Spesar ok Karítasar* and depicts an iconographically unusual scene of the martyrdom of Fides, one of the three daughters of Sophia (Figure 132). Unfortunately, due to the poor state of the initial today, many features can no longer be closely examined. Nevertheless, the decapitation of a kneeling child is distinguishable in the foreground, watched by three figures in the upper part of the initial. The identity of the executioner is unclear, since the face has been effaced out at some later time, but it is most likely Emperor Hadrian himself who is holding the sword.[467] According to the text, the initial is meant to depict the martyrdom of Fides after her breasts have been excoriated, as mentioned on f. $15^{vb43-44}$. Unfortunately, the text that describes the scene is not found in AM 233 a fol., due to the incomplete state of the codex. It is transmitted in later manuscripts and reads as follows:

> En er keisarinn saa hana osakada eptir slikar pislar, þa vard hann full af reidi, er hann matti eigi neyda hana til blota. Ok eptir þat baud keisarinn, at meyna skylldi sverdi hǫggva. En er en sæla mær heyrdi þetta, fagnadi hon miok ok gerdi gudi þackir ok kalladi aa modir sina, er þar stod hia henne, ok baud, ath hun skylldi bidia fyrir henne, at hon mættiu sina framfǫr med sigri ok iatningu lykta. Sidan kalladi hun aa systr sinar ok bad þær vel standaz pislir eptir þeim dæmum, sem hin hafdi adr fyrir giǫrt: 'ok megit þit nu sia, hversu ek hefir yfirstigit pislar ok konung sialfan, þviat hann kvelst nu, er hann matti mik i ǫngum lut kuga.' Sidan retti hun hǫfut sitt ok haals under sverdzeggiar ok hafdi adr kysta modir sina, ok bad þær allar heilar wera. Eptir þat hio

467 *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 20.

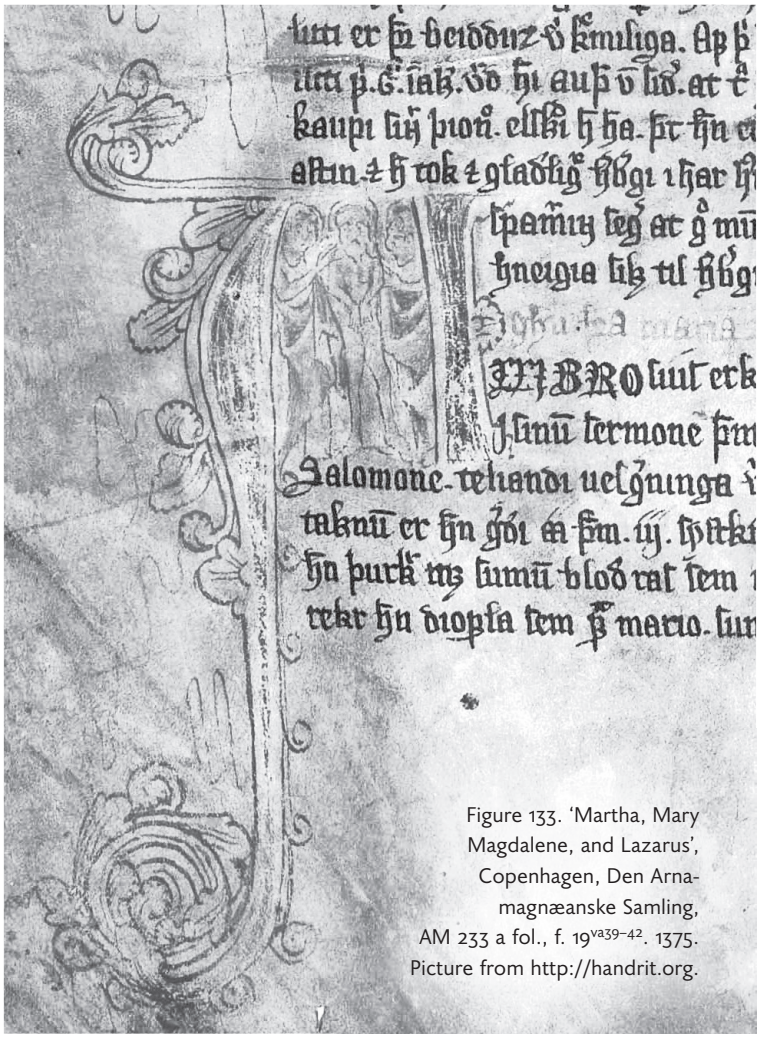

Figure 133. 'Martha, Mary Magdalene, and Lazarus', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. 19$^{va39–42}$. 1375. Picture from http://handrit.org.

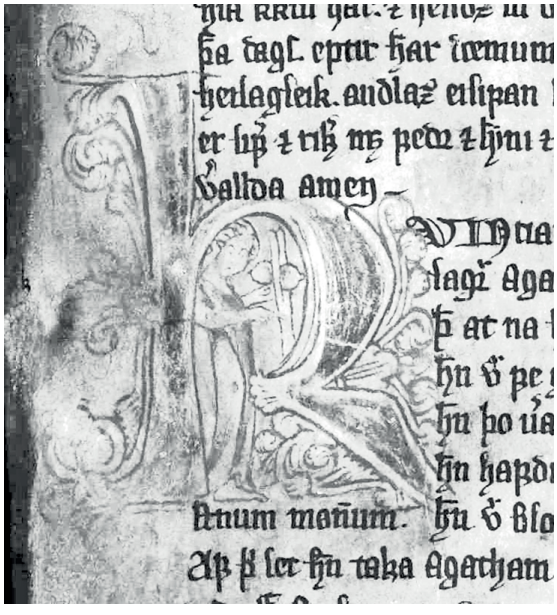

Figure 134. 'St Agate', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. 26$^{ra15–20}$. 1375. Picture from http://handrit.org.

skialldzsveinn keisara hǫfut af hon svo Kristi sigr sins pislarvættiss.[468]

> [But as the emperor saw her unharmed after such torture, he was full of anger because he was unable to force her to the pagan sacrifice. After that the emperor demanded that the maiden be beheaded. As the blessed maiden heard that, she welcomed this decision, thanked God and looked to her mother who stood near to her and asked her to pray for her so that she might meet her death with victory and a final confession. Then she called on her sisters and asked them to withstand the tortures after their judgements, as she had done before: 'You shall see, how I have transcended this torture and the king himself, because he will be tortured, when he can tyrannise me in no part.' Afterwards she placed her head and neck under the sword blade, having previously been kissed by her mother and asked all to be blessed. After that the executioner of the king severed her head. Thus, [was] victory for Christ of her martyrdom.]

The scene is watched by Sophia and the two remaining sisters. It is apparent that the image not only refers to the cruel nature of the heathen emperor, but also to the saintly character of Sophia and her daughters, especially Fides. This is further supported by the depicted sword and banner. These two symbols are attributes of the three sisters.[469] The iconography on f. 15$^{va1–6}$ does not refer to other known iconographic models from the story.

The next initial is found at the beginning of the second chapter of *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu* (Figure 133). The initial depicts Martha, Mary Magdalene, and Lazarus and also the rubric on f. 19$^{va40–41}$ refers to the three saints.[470] It reads as follows: 'H*er* hef*r* so | ghu þ*ei*ra maría *ok* martha *ok* lazar*us* brod*r* þ*ei*rra' (Here begins the saga about Maria, Martha, and their brother Lazarus). Unfortunately, no direct text–image connection is visible in the text, nor can a clear iconographic model be identified. Usually the scene of the resurrection of Lazarus is depicted showing Christ blessing the resurrected Lazarus. It is possible that the scene refers to Mary Magdalene and Martha receiving Lazarus after he is resurrected by Christ in Chapter 7. Folio

468 *Heilagra Manna Søgur*, ed. by Unger, p. 373.
469 Stintzi, 'Sophia mit ihren drei Töchtern', p. 384.
470 *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, p. 20; Liepe, *Studies*, p. 44.

Figure 135. 'St Margaret', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 233 a fol., f. 27$^{rb33–37}$. 1375. Picture by Beeke Stegmann using a Multi-Spectral Scanner. Reproduced with permission.

21$^{rb11–14}$ in AM 233 a fol. describe the resurrection of Lazarus as follows:

> h*an*n gekk þa ut sueipaðr u*m* he*n*dr | *ok* fætr *ok* huldr m*ed* suetta duki um andlit. ie*h*s*u*s baud þæ | lærisueinu*m* sinu*m*. *ok* lata b*r*ott fa*r*a. þ*at* er at skilia lata fara | ept*ir* uilia. þ*e*i*r* ge*r*du sem h*an*n baud.
>
> [And so he went out swaddled around his hands and his feet and shoulders and his face was covered with a cloth. Jesus asked his disciples to let him go, to let him understand that he is free to go as he liked. They did as he wished.]

Even though the clothing of the resurrected Lazarus is only explained in an indirect way in the text, I agree with the previous scholarship on the identification of the three figures. The following initial on f. 26$^{ra15–20}$ shows a standard iconography (Figure 134). It introduces *Agǫtu saga* and depicts the saint with the pincers on the right. They are among the main attributes of Agatha, together with the red pallium she wears.

The last main initial of AM 233 a fol. on f. 27$^{rb33–37}$, which introduces *Margrétar saga*, also depicts standard iconography (Figure 135). Despite the very poor condition of the initial, the saint is still identifiable on the left, holding up a cross above the dragon Rufus on the ground. The description of Rufus and the following scene on f. 27$^{vb16–32}$ clearly refers to Margaret's fight with the devil:

> þa ko*m* | þ*ar* fr*a*m or era*n*i hyrningu ógurligr dreki. h*an*n v*ar* m*ed* ymsum litu*m*. | fax h*an*s v*ar* har*d*la siðt. ten*n* h*an*s vara sem gloanda iarn *ok* suo mi*k*lar | j uilli gelti. Augu h*an*s voro sem gloandi siur. Elldr bran*n* or m | un*n*i h*an*s. en tunga h*an*s uafdiz vm hals h*onu*m. h*an*n hafdi nødru ei | na i mun*n*i s*er*. har*d*la illiliga. en hun hafdí mik*it* hǫfut. þa reis | dr*e*kin*n* upp um mið nætti. en elldr bran*n* or mun*n*i h*an*s *ok* nausum | s*va* at af þui lysti vm alla myrkuastofuna. En er heilug .m*argareta*. | sa h*ann*. þa mæl*t*i hun þes*su*m ordum m*ed* mikilli hrædzlu. heyrþu gu*þ* | allualltandi sa er æ hímnum er. *ok* batt diofulin*n* belzebuþ | *ok* allt hef*ir* i þínu ualldi. hialp þu m*er* nu v*id* þess*u*m dreka. *ok* misku*nn*a | m*er* dr*o*ttin*n* mi*n*n. En er sæl. m*argareta*. hafdi þe*t*ta mælt. þa sualg dr*e*kinn | h*an*a m*eð* helgu kr*oss* m*ar*ki adr signta. þ*vi* at hun retti h*en*dr sin*nar* j kros*s* | *o*k er hun kom iafn gegnt hi*ar*ta h*an*s. þa brast dre-kin*n* sundr j | midiu. þ*vi*at sa o uinr allz man*n*-kyns. mátti e*igi* stand*az* þ*at* hit helg*az*ta | takn kr*o*ssins. En sæla mær .m*argareta*. stod heil upp. *ok* lofandi gu*þ* af ollu | hi*ar*ta.
>
> [And so a horned and terrible dragon came forward. He looked as follows: his mane was very long. His teeth were like glowing iron and as big as those of a wild boar. His eyes were like glowing magma. Fire came from his mouth and his tongue weaved around his neck. He had a snake in his mouth, very terrible. And it had a big head. Then the dragon rose up at midnight. And fire came from his mouth and nose so that the whole prison room was filled with light. And as St Margaret saw him she said the following, filled with fear: 'Hear me, almighty God, who is in heaven and who bound the devil Beelzebub and have all in your power. Help me now with this dragon and forgive me, my Lord.' And when St Margaret had said this the dragon swallowed her with the mark of the previously signed holy cross, because she raised her arms in a cross shape and when she came near his heart, the dragon broke asunder in the middle, because that enemy of all mankind is unable to withstand the most holy mark of the cross. And the blessed maiden Margaret stood up unharmed praising God from all her heart.]

The iconographic content of the major initials in the second section of AM 233 a fol., in comparison to the first section, is much closer to the initials introducing the saga texts and depicts some standard iconographic features. The focus on the main characters of the stories is somewhat related to the historiated book painting of AM 226 fol. and Codex Scardensis, which displays a similar pattern of a single figure whose iconographic features and name are directly mentioned either in the accompanying rubric or in the introduced text. Also, in textual terms, the second section of AM 233 a fol. seems to be somewhat related to the general way in which texts are redacted in AM 226 fol., at least in the latter part since AM 233 a fol. and AM 226 fol. contain less refined redactions of the text than previous versions. It has been suggested above that AM 226 fol. seems to have been used internally at the convent for educational purposes. The related textual and iconographic design of the second part of AM 233 a fol. suggests a similar conclusion, especially as it is known that the convent at Helgafell owned *Marivskrifter ij storar* and *tuennar legendur* in 1397.[471] It might be that the first production unit of AM 233 a fol. was one of these two *Maríu saga* manuscripts and that the second production unit was one of the *Heilagra manna sögur* manuscripts.

This chapter has shown that the collaboration of all the illuminators and their contributions to the manuscripts at Helgafell is extensive. This information will be placed within the context of the scriptorium in Chapter 5. It will be shown that these illuminators not only received different training within Iceland, but that they also had access to a variety of sketchbooks, as well as further art-historical bodies of ornamental and iconographic models. This diversity of material available to them greatly shaped the book painting of the Helgafell manuscripts, as did the variety of the different versions of texts found in the same codices. It is likely that most of these illuminators — and scribes — were not permanently working at Helgafell in the second half of the fourteenth century, but rather that they were called upon for particular jobs.

471 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 170.

CHAPTER 4

European Artworks

The largely Romanesque ornamentation and Gothic figural painting of the Helgafell manuscripts contain several stylistic traits found in Norwegian and, more distantly, Continental models. Most importantly, illuminators in France first adapted liturgical themes in such vernacular manuscripts to fit the initially exclusively liturgical content of these texts.[1] French and western Scandinavian book painting in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries has been regarded as separate from German illuminations. It has been argued that illuminated secular and Latin manuscripts from Germany from the thirteenth century merely show full-page miniatures, while secular French manuscripts contain small miniatures and, more occasionally, historiated initials as part of the texts.[2] As has been shown in previous chapters, the Helgafell manuscripts provide a much larger number of historiated initials than miniatures. This is well in line with an earlier French working practice:

> Secular text illustration, then, employs no single method in selecting models, but may equally well adapt a model from a liturgical context or invent one on the basis of the words of the text concerned. A consideration of secular MSS in relation to the workshop that produced them leads to other kinds of parallels between secular and liturgical illumination. There is evidence that both types of book were illuminated by the same illuminators, although in the thirteenth century we are still in a period in which comparatively little is known about the exact circumstances of book-production because of the scarcity of documents.[3]

Close cultural contacts between Norway and France existed during the thirteenth century, which was generally the product of King Hákon Hákonarson's (1204–63) interest in the adaptation and translation of French courtly literature into Old Norse.[4] It may thus be argued that the style of the ornamentation found both in Norway and Helgafell from *c.* 1250 onwards is a strong indication of the artistic influence of French book painting on western Scandinavia.[5] In the first half of the thirteenth century, lay audiences became increasingly interested in the illumination of vernacular literature.[6] Furthermore, the adaptation and translation of *chansons de geste* and other French heroic-romantic literature at the court of King Hákon is well documented and was the source from which the Old Norse saga genre *Riddara sögur* (knights' sagas) emerged.[7] Some of these sagas were also used at Helgafell, such as *Alexanders saga* in DAM, AM 226 fol. It is likely that iconographic models were also transferred from France to Helgafell through such channels. As is well known, during the thirteenth century the Norwegian court had close connections with England, too. More than fifty documents are known to have been exchanged between the Norwegian King Hákon Hákonarson (1204–63) and King Henry III of England (1207–72).[8] Nevertheless, the search for detailed evidence of book production in fourteenth-century Norway is problematic for philologists and art historians alike. Despite the existence of an immense amount of both vernacular and Latin literature, many medieval

1 Stones, 'Secular Manuscript Illumination in France'; Stones 'Sacred and Profane Art'.

2 Stones, 'Sacred and Profane Art', p. 105; Klemm, 'Die Darstellung von Heiligen', p. 374.

3 Stones, 'Sacred and Profane Art', pp. 103–04; see also Stones, 'Text and Image'.

4 Irlenbusch-Reynard, 'Translations at the Court of Hákon Hákonarson'; see Eriksen, *Writing and Reading*, for manuscript examples of the adaptation of French courtly literature into the Old Norwegian and Icelandic manuscript cultures.

5 For a concise overview of thirteenth-century French book painting, see *Gothic Manuscripts, 1260–1320*, ed. by Stones, I, 17–50. A first-hand example of an illuminated French manuscript imported to Norway in the early thirteenth century is Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1606 4to (Christina Psalter), which was produced in 1230 in Paris. It is most likely that this manuscript was owned by the daughter of King Hákon Hákonarson, Kristín Hákonardóttir (1234–62), who was betrothed to Philip, brother of King Alfonso X of Castile in 1258. For the date of the Christina Psalter, see Olsen and Nordenfalk, *Gyllene böcker*, p. 35. For the book painting, see Vidas, *The Christina Psalter*. For the Christina Psalter and Kristín Hákonardóttir, see Fischer, *Kristín Hákonardóttir*, pp. 302–15.

6 The earliest illuminated vernacular manuscript from France, however, is older; this is the late twelfth-century *Ruolantesliet*, now housed at Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Cod. Pal. Germ. 112. For this, see Stones, 'Sacred and Profane Art', p. 104.

7 Helle, *Under kirke og kongemakt*, pp. 171–72. For a short introduction to literary production in thirteenth-century Norway, see Eriksen, 'Litterær kultur i Norge i Eufemias tid'.

8 *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, XIX.1, ed. by Bugge, pp. 93–130.

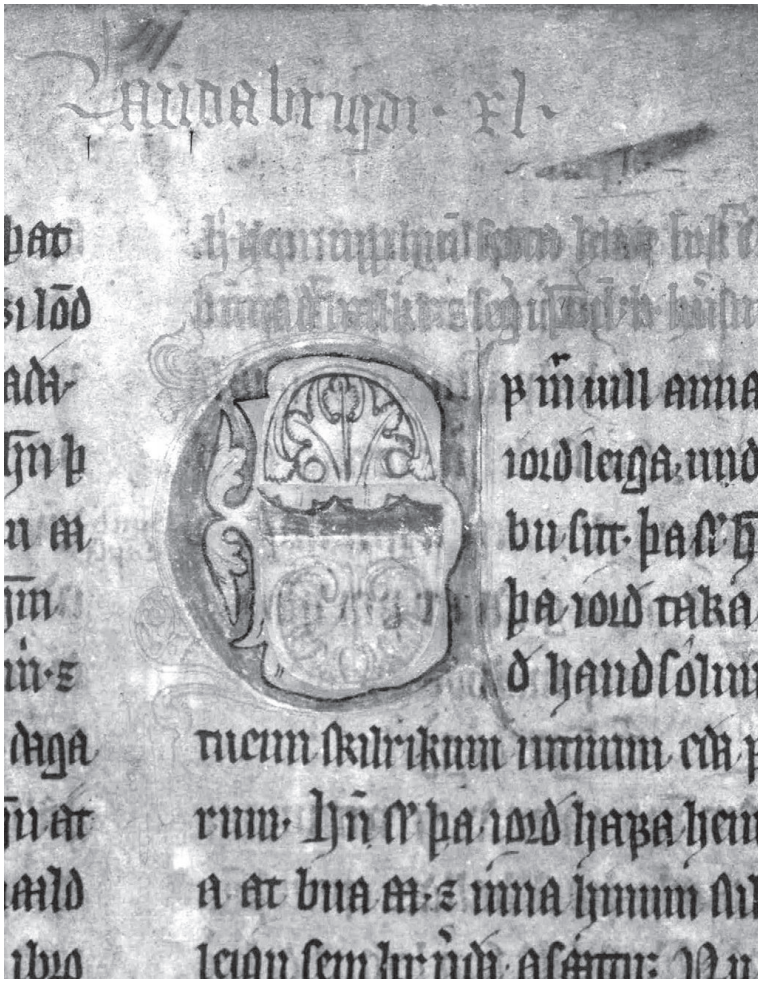

Figure 136. 'Ornamentation', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), f. 41^{rb3-7}. 1340. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Figure 137. 'Ornamentation', Oslo, Riksarkivet, NRA 1 C II, f. 1^{r4-9}. 1250. Photo: Riksarkivet, reproduced with permission.

Norwegian manuscripts survived the Reformation only in the form of small cuttings used for book bindings.[9] Nearly all of these book bindings were produced much later, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for local taxation accounts, and the provenance of the original fragments can often only be determined from a short note on the parchment indicating when and where they were employed as bindings.[10] The majority of medieval Norwegian fragments consists of Latin literature; altogether about 6500 Norwegian fragments are known, which comprise roughly 1000–1200 different Latin books.[11] The total number of vernacular fragments at the Norwegian Riksarkivet is close to 500.[12]

The establishment of the ornamentation found in the Helgafell manuscripts can be roughly divided into two stages: the first consists of a varied range of Romanesque ornamental motifs, and the second of Gothic decoration. The first of these stages is found only in the inner fillings of major initials; these features enrolled and encircled palmette ornamentation with often mirrored acanthus tendrils. In the wider surrounding of Helgafell, this form is exclusively found in SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), an observation which suggests that this ornamentation was no longer used at Helgafell after *c.* 1340, once Svalbarðsbók was finished (Figure 136).

In comparison, the original form of these acanthus leaves draws on earlier models used for vernac-

9 For recent studies on medieval Norwegian manuscripts and fragments and their provenance, see Pettersen, 'From Parchment Books to Fragments'; Karlsen, 'Liturgiske bøker'; Ommundsen, 'Books, Scribes and Sequences'; Ommundsen, 'Psalms Interrupted'; Ommundsen, 'Tracing Scribal Centres in Medieval Norway'; and Karlsen and Weidling, 'Latinske fragmenter'.

10 Pettersen, 'From Parchment Books to Fragments', pp. 43–48.

11 Ommundsen, 'Tracing Scribal Centres in Medieval Norway', pp. 81–82, with further references.

12 Karlsen, 'Latin Manuscripts of Medieval Norway', p. 30.

Figure 138. 'Ornamentation', Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 856, fol. 171^{vb}. 1225. Picture from Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Photo: Bibliothèque Municipale, reproduced with permission.

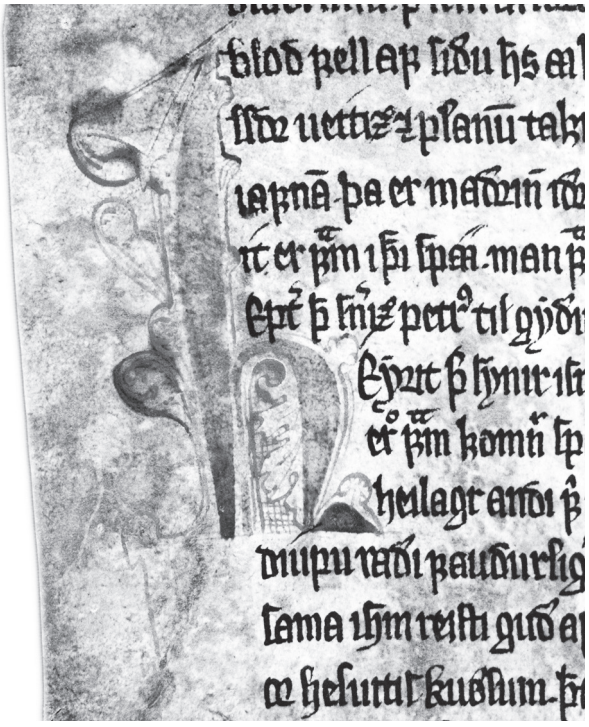

Figure 140. 'Acanthus leaves', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), f. 5$^{va12–14}$. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Figure 139. 'Acanthus leaves', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), f. 30$^{rb8–10}$. 1363. Picture from https://handrit.is.

ular law manuscripts in Norway *c.* 1250 and earlier French manuscripts (Figures 137–38). Later versions of this type of Romanesque ornamentation remained in the repertoire of Scandinavian illuminators well after the end of the thirteenth century, since related acanthus leaf forms with enhanced and fanned leaves are found in manuscripts from Norway up until 1350, and in the slightly later Helgafell manuscript SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók) from 1363, as well as in SÁM, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis) from *c.* 1370 (Figures 139–41). Thus, despite being long outdated in most other parts of Europe, this style remained in use in both Norway and Iceland until the fourteenth century.

Around 1300, a new form of the Romanesque style appeared in Norway. This can be seen as a second stage of Romanesque book painting in western Scandinavia. The form itself consists of a single blue or red-coloured acanthus tendril with *œufs-de-grenouille*, which is mostly situated within a main initial. An example is found in Oslo, Riksarkivet, NRA 2 (Figure 142), a law fragment written in *c.* 1302–10 by the Icelandic lawman Haukr Erlendsson (d. 1334).[13]

13 Stefán Karlsson, 'Aldur Hauksbókar', p. 120. On Haukr Erlendsson as a lawman, see Gunnar Harðarson, 'Old Norse Intellectual Culture', pp. 62–68.

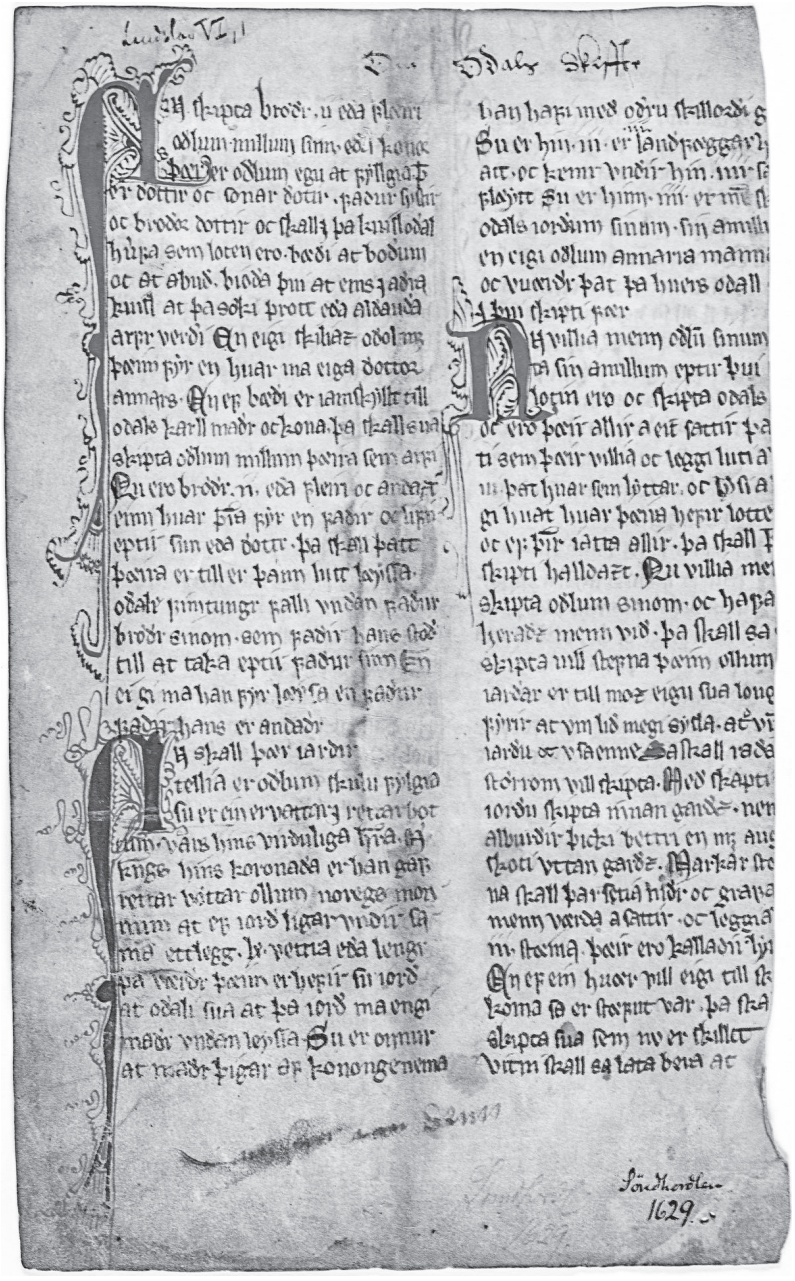

Figure 141. 'Acanthus leaves', Oslo, Riksarkivet, NRA 7, f. 1r. 1350. Photo: Riksarkivet, reproduced with permission.

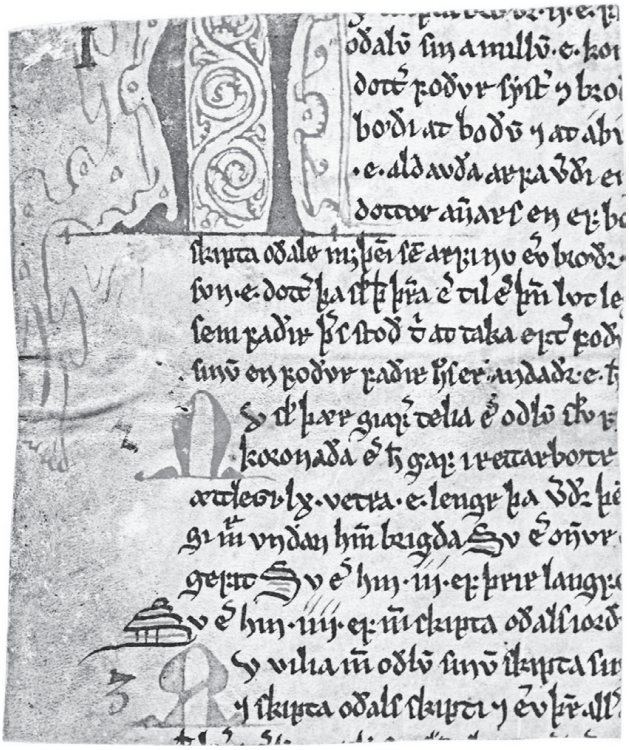

Figure 142. 'Acanthus tendrils', Oslo, Riksarkivet, NRA 2, f. 1ra. 1310. Photo: Riksarkivet, reproduced with permission.

Figure 143. 'Acanthus leaves', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), f. 50rb1–6. 1370. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Examples of this ornamentation are found in numerous cases in western Iceland, predominantly in Codex Scardensis (Figure 143). Haukr was in contact with Þingeyrar for some time: some parts of a manuscript for which he acted as the main scribe, DAM, AM 544 4to, was partly written by two scribes from Þingeyrar, H Þin 1 and H Þin 2 (see Table 8, above).[14] But neither the illuminations nor the textual content of this manuscript are related to any of the manuscripts from Helgafell.[15] In Norway, such a form of ornamentation is also found in initial letters, such as in the law codex DAM, AM 60 4to from *c.* 1320 (Figure 144).[16] In this manuscript, there is also a floral embellishment of dichromatic initials that was discussed previously in relation to the Helgafell-related SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók) and the stylis-

14 For AM 544 4to and related manuscripts, see Chapter 2.

15 See, for example, Sverrir Jakobsson, 'Hin heilagra fortíð', pp. 166–67.

16 *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, p. 547.

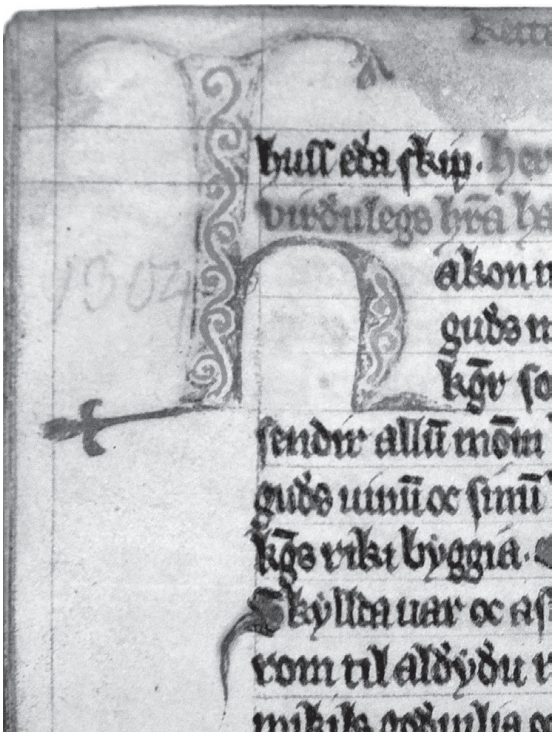

Figure 144. 'Ornamentation', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 60 4to, f. 102$^{va3–5}$. 1330. Photo: Friederike Richter, reproduced with permission.

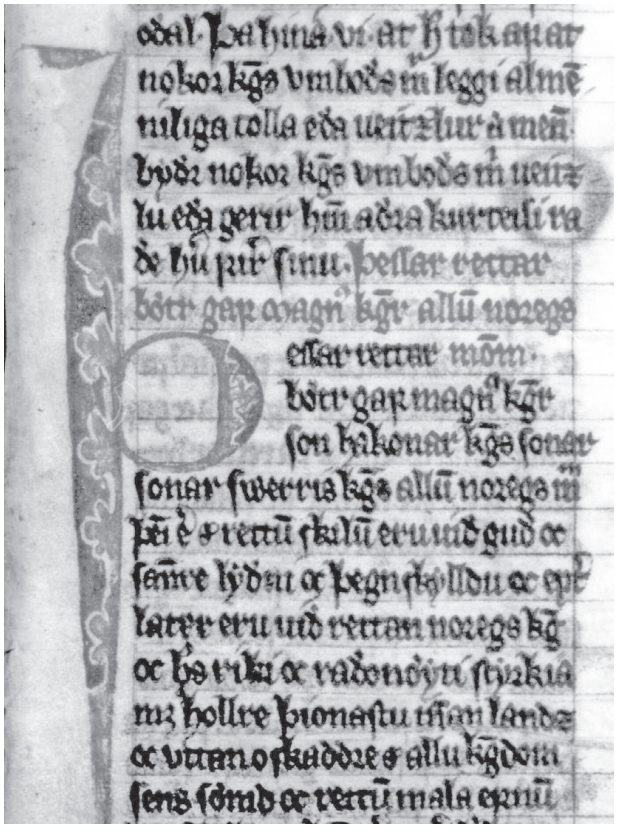

Figure 145. 'Ornamentation', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 60 4to, f. 99$^{ra12–14}$. 1330.

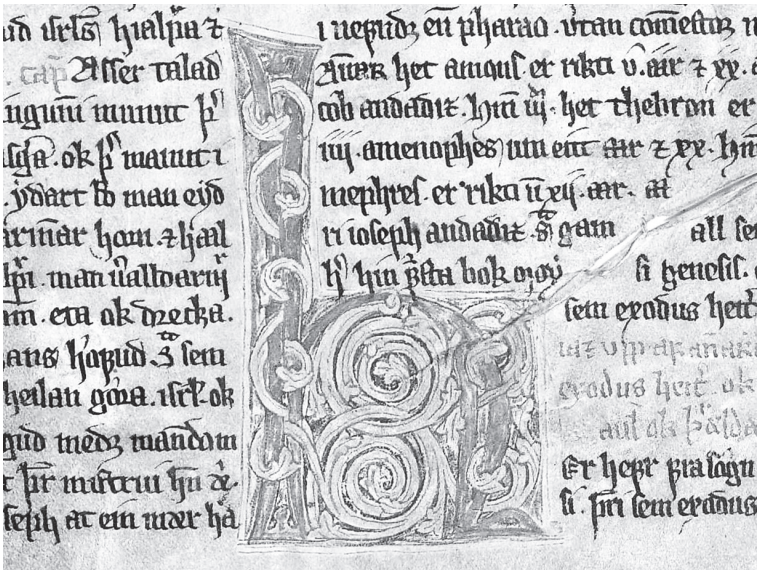

Figure 146. 'Ornamentation', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 51$^{rb42–47}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

Figure 147. 'Ornamentation', Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 7, 25$^{va7–15}$. 1150. Picture from Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Photo: Bibliothèque Mazarine, reproduced with permission.

tically connected law manuscript SÁM, GKS 3268 4to (see Figures 44–45, above, and Figure 145).[17] At Helgafell, similar fillings of initial letters featuring acanthus tendrils are present mainly in AM 226 fol. (see Figure 46, above, and Figure 146).

Clearly identifiable in AM 226 fol. is an extended and much more detailed use of the Romanesque ornamentation, which itself draws on twelfth-century French models (Figure 147). Thus, in line with the

17 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 547.

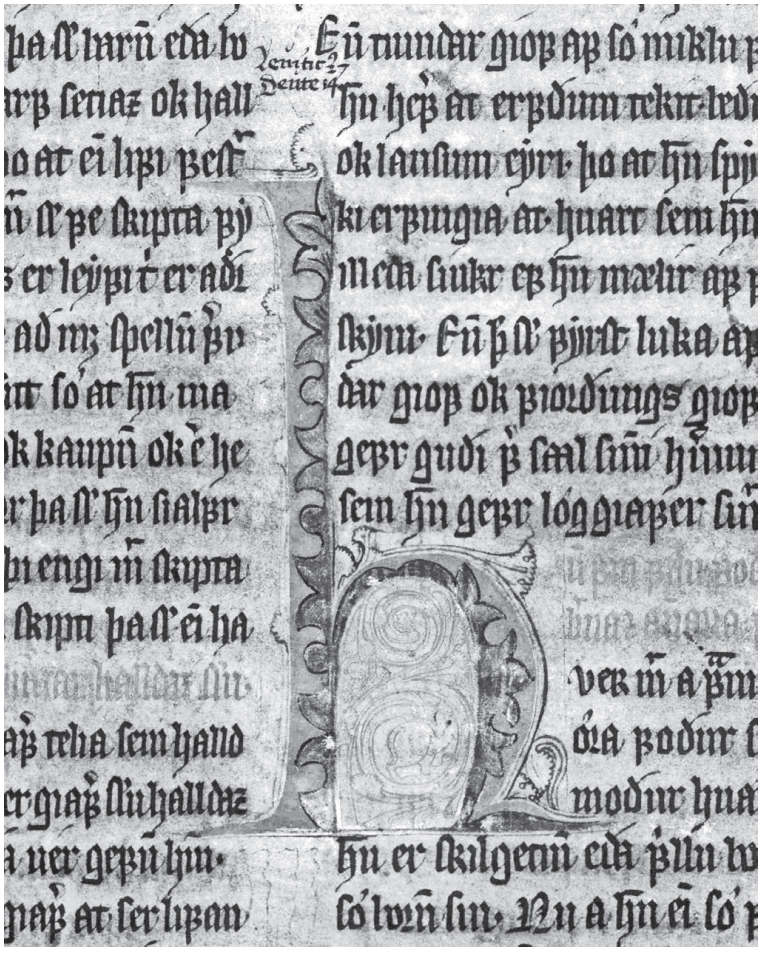

Figure 148. 'Ornamentation', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), f. 33$^{rb16–20}$. 1340. Picture from https://handrit.is.

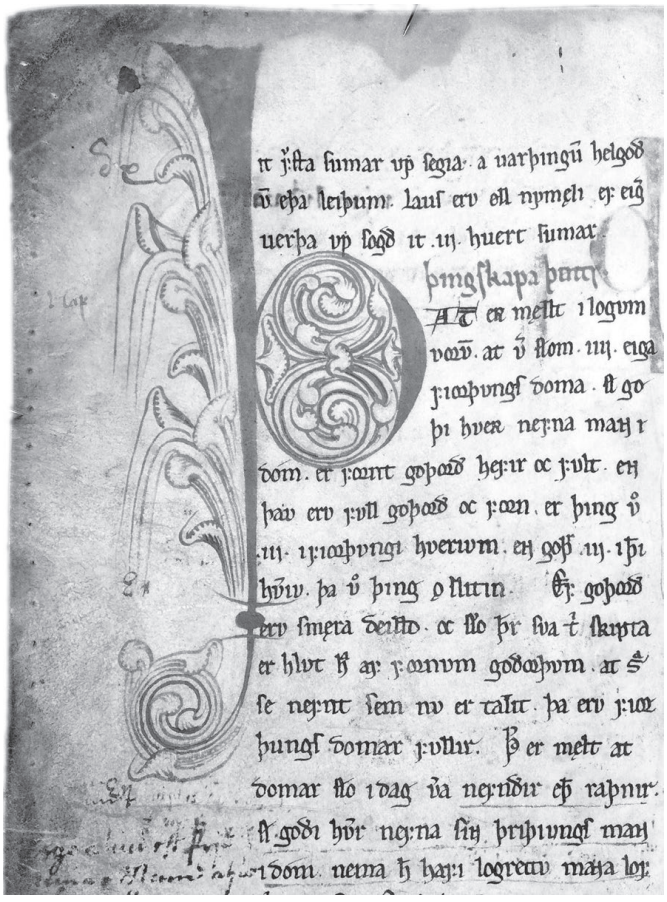

Figure 149. 'Ornamentation', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 1157 fol. (Konungsbók Grágásar), f. 9$^{va4–8}$. 1300. Picture from https://handrit.is.

Norwegian example, and in comparison to European standards of the time, the illuminations in AM 226 fol. and AM 60 4to indicate the use of an outdated form of Romanesque manuscript embellishments well into the fourteenth century.

The example from AM 226 fol. displays yet another form of Romanesque ornamentation, which is rarely found in Norway,[18] but is used in a number of older manuscripts from western Iceland; it is a rounded, thickly painted and further developed form of ornamentation consisting of a mixture of the two stages discussed above. It is also found in Skarðsbók and its textual model Svalbarðsbók (Figure 148), as well as in Codex Scardensis (see Figure 9 and Figure 119, above). The Icelandic illuminators draw on models that are around one hundred years older, as this style appears first in SÁM, GKS 1157 fol. (Konungsbók Grágásar), a vernacular law manuscript written and illuminated in western Iceland in the second half of the thirteenth century (Figure 149).[19] H Kri 1, the scribe responsible for Konungsbók Grágásar, belongs to a group of scribes and illuminators who produced several other vernacular manuscripts in the second part of the thirteenth century, the so-called Kringla group (Table 44).

Apart from Konungsbók Grágásar, which was co-written by the second main scribe of the group, H Kri 2, H Kri 1 was also responsible for the kings' saga fragment LBS, Lbs fragm 82 (Kringla) and parts of a second *Grágás* codex SÁM, AM 334 fol. (Staðarhólsbók Grágásar),[20] of which parts were also written by the two scribes H Kri 3 and H Kri 4.

18 The perhaps most striking Norwegian example is the law manuscript Oslo, Nasjonalbiblioteket, MS 1 4to, from 1300–50. For the date of MS 1 4to, see Jónas Kristjánsson, 'Skrá um íslenzk handrit í Nóregi', p. 53; for the Norwegian provenance of the scribe, see *Kong Magnus Håkonsson Lagabøtes Landslov*, ed. by Rindal and Spørck, I, 28–29.

19 Kålund, *Katalog*, II, 30; Widding, 'Håndskriftanalyser', p. 75.

20 *De bevarede brudstykker*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, pp. iv–v.

Table 44. The Kringla manuscripts.

Shelf Mark and Name	Collection	No. of Folios	Hands (H)	Illuminators (A)	Main Content	Date	Cols	Lines	Size (max.)
GKS 1157 fol. (Konungsbók Grágásar)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	13	H Kri 2 (ff. 1^{r}–13^{v})	A Kri 1 (f. 1^{r}); A Kri 2 (ff. 1^{v}–13^{v})	*Grágás*	1300[21]	2	35	354 × 245 mm
		80	H Kri 1 (14^{r}–93^{v})	A Kri 2 (ff. 14^{r}–93^{v})		1250[22]			
AM 241 b I β fol.	Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling	2	H Kri 1 (ff. 1^{r}–2^{v})	None	*Psalterium Davidis*	1250–75[23]	2	Unknown	245 × 160 mm
JS fragm 14	Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands	2	H Kri 1 (ff. 1^{r}–2^{v})	None	*Lectionarium*	1250–75[24]	2	29 (?)	220 × 170 mm
Lbs fragm 82 (Kringla)	Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands	1	H Kri 1 (f. $1^{r–v}$)	A Kri 1 (f. $1^{r–v}$)	*Óláfs saga helga*	1258–64[25]	2	42	266 × 235 mm
AM 334 fol. (Staðarhálsbók Grágásar)	Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum	½	H Kri 4 (f. 1ra–rb)	None	*Jónsbók*	1300[26]	2	37	330 × 235 mm
		90	H Kri 1 (ff. 1^{va}–11^{va7}, ff. 12^{ra}–92^{rb})	A Kri 1 (f. 1^{v}, f. 12^{r}, 19^{r}, f. 27^{v}, f. 37^{r}, f. 51^{r}); A Kri 2 (ff. 1^{v}–91^{r})	*Grágás*	1271–72[27]			
			H Kri 5 (f. $11^{va8–13}$)	None	Skuldareikningr ónafngreinds manns í Húnavatnsþingi	1330–40[28]			
		17 ½	H Kri 3 (ff. 92^{va}–108^{rb})	H Kri 2 (ff. 92^{v}–108^{r})	*Járnsíða*	1271–81[29]			

Finally, also the Latin fragments LBS, JS fragm 14 and DAM, AM 241 b I β fol. were written by H Kri 1. Several of these manuscripts and fragments were illuminated by two book painters, A Kri 1 and A Kri 2, who also illuminated the *Maríu saga* fragment Oslo, Riksarkivet, NRA 78, and who shared model books with the illuminators behind the Barðastrandasýsla group of manuscripts, as mentioned above.[30] Thus, both of these two groups could well have worked together around the turn of the fourteenth century — and shared, at least indirectly, ornamental models with the wider network of western Icelandic workshops, including Helgafell.[31]

More closely related to the Helgafell book painting, this style also appears in several manuscripts belonging to the Barðastrandasýsla group. Although less refined, the decorations used in the Barðastrandasýsla group are based on English and French Romanesque ornamental models dated the last quarter of the twelfth century. As for the pen-flourishing, the English bestiary BL, Add. MS 11283 shows a similar floral ornamentation, while a similar adaptation of foliate and geomorphic elements of major initials is found in BL, Add. MS 17738 (Floreffe Bible) (Figures 150–51).[32] Nonetheless, the particular mirrored style in the main initials found in works of the Barðastrandasýsla book painters is particular to their style, and appears otherwise only in one initial in Codex Scardensis (see Figures 119–20, above).

The colouring and general ornamentation of major initials in several of the Helgafell manuscripts differs significantly from those of the Barðastrandasýsla group. It is found in the similar use of oppositional colours and forms of letter ornamentation, as well as related prolonged extensions of initials in the lower margin. In western Iceland, this main letter ornamentation is not exclusive to Helgafell; manuscripts such as Skarðsbók, Svalbarðsbók, SÁM,

21 Widding, 'Håndskriftanalyser', p. 75.
22 Stefán Karlsson, 'Kringum Kringlu', p. 21.
23 Stefán Karlsson, 'Davíðssálmar með Kringluhendi', p. 50.
24 Stefán Karlsson, 'Davíðssálmar með Kringluhendi', p. 50.
25 Stefán Karlsson, 'Kringum Kringlu', p. 17.
26 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 275.
27 Sigurður Líndal, 'Hvers vegna var Staðarhólsbók Grágásar skrifuð?', p. 293; see also Gunnar Karlsson, 'Inngangur', p. xvi. For an overview over the dating suggestions of AM 334 fol. (Staðarhálsbók Grágásar), see Rohrbach, 'Matrix of the Law', pp. 99–101.
28 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, V, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 1.
29 *Njáls saga*, ed. by Jón Helgason, p. ix.
30 Drechsler, 'Illuminated Manuscript Production'. A further argument for a connection between these two groups is the fact that they use related kings' saga (*Heimskringla*) redactions for the fragment LBS, Lbs fragm 82, and the (Barðastrandasýsla) manuscript DAM, AM 45 fol. (Codex Frisianus). For this, see *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, p. 35.
31 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 235–38; Drechsler, 'Illuminated Manuscript Production', pp. 180–84.
32 For BL, Add. MS 11283, see Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, no. 105, and for BL, Add. MS 17738 (Floreffe Bible), see Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, II, 137 and 199. For further discussion on the Icelandic manuscripts, see Drechsler, 'Illuminated Manuscript Production', p. 172.

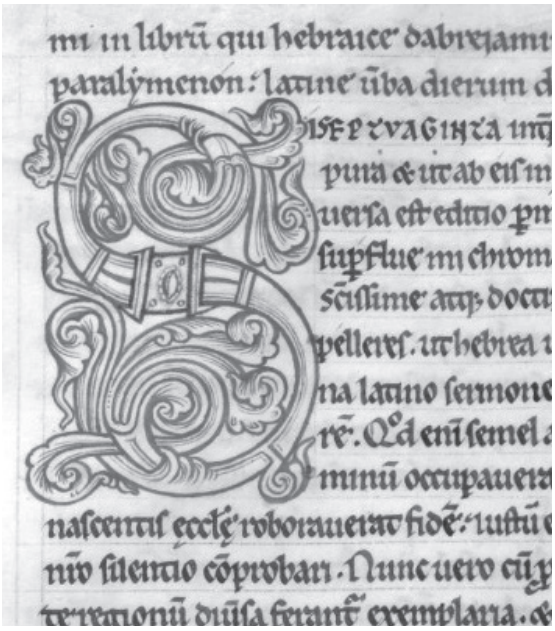

Figure 150. 'Ornamentation', London, British Library, MS Add. 17738 (Floreffe Bible), f. 99$^{rb3–11}$. 1170. Photo: British Library, reproduced with permission.

Figure 151. 'Ornamentation', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 45 fol. (Codex Frisianus), f. 69$^{vb1–6}$. 1325. Picture from http://handrit.org.

AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), and the law codices GKS 3268 4to and GKS 3270 4to (both SÁM) of the *Skálholtsannáll hinn forni* manuscript group all include this form of ornamentation (see Figure 28 and Figure 100, above, and Figure 152). All these stylistic features are common in late twelfth- to mid-fourteenth-century French and English book paintings.

A main initial in DAM, AM 226 fol. and one in Skarðsbók provide final examples of the influence of Norwegian and French-English Romanesque ornamentation art on the Helgafell scriptorium (see Figure 26 and Figure 71, above). The letter extension of the main initial in Skarðsbók and the form of an inhabited initial in AM 226 fol. is nothing extraordinary compared to the book painting of the so-called international 'Channel style' from around the turn of the thirteenth century. This style features 'typically spindly foliage forming a dense trelliswork in which little white animals, half-dog and half-lion, may take shelter'.[33] Inhabited initials are not displayed in any extant medieval Norwegian book painting. In Iceland, inhabited initials appear first at Helgafell in *c.* 1340, the time at which Svalbarðsbók was illuminated. Since the variety of motifs is much broader than the examples from Skarðsbók and AM 226 fol., their influence stemmed from French or English illuminations around the turn of the thirteenth century when the Channel style was in vogue in the regions

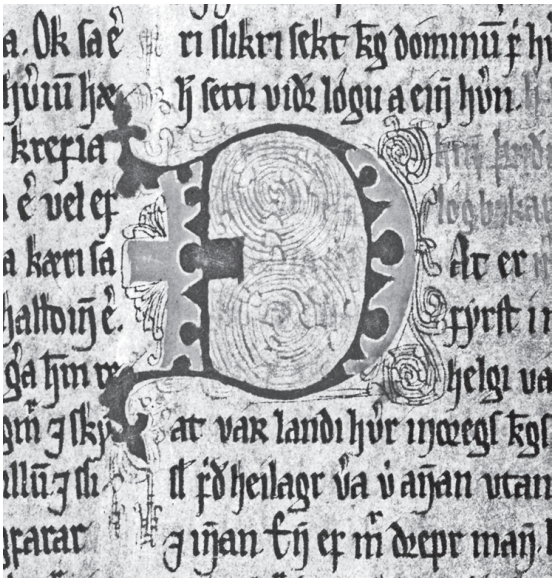

Figure 152. 'Ornamentation', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3270 4to, f. 34$^{vb11–15}$. 1350.

on both sides of the English Channel.[34] From the turn of the thirteenth century, no illuminated manuscripts from Norway are known, though preserved wooden artworks from the subsequent period show that domestic artists were influenced by English rather

33 Cahn, 'St Albans and the Channel Style', p. 196.

34 Cahn, 'St Albans and the Channel Style', pp. 197–201; see also Boase, *English Art*, p. 185.

Figure 153. 'Channel style', Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 188, fol. 2ra. 1230. Picture from Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Photo: Bibliothèque Municipale, reproduced with permission.

than French styles.[35] In particular, the beast figures intertwined with floral Romanesque ornamentation are traditionally cited as a transition between the Romanesque and Gothic styles in both English and northern French areas *c.* 1160–1220 (Figure 153).[36] The shape and action of the dogs in AM 226 fol. may stem not only from Channel style illuminations, but also from older domestic wood carvings from the twelfth century, which themselves are probably related to book paintings predating the Channel style.[37] Such ornamentation is found in both Norwegian and Icelandic carved door posts from the twelfth century, and it might well be that Magnús Þórhallsson, the illuminator of AM 226 fol., was inspired by these door posts rather than by French or English manuscripts.[38] In addition, the reduced content in the initial in AM 226 fol. also suggests this. The most striking similarity is found in a wooden portal from

35 Blindheim, 'Scandinavian Art and its Relations to European Art', p. 446.

36 Jakobi-Mirwald, *Das mittelalterliche Buch*, p. 255.

37 Magerøy, *Planteornamentikken i islandsk treskurd*, p. 36.

38 See Magerøy, *Planteornamentikken i islandsk treskurd*, pp. 34–36, and Hörður Ágústsson, 'Tvær úthöggnir dyrustafir', for the Icelandic door post from Laufás. See further Hohler, *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture*, I, 122–23, for the Norwegian example from Bødalen.

Figure 154. 'Ornamental carving on wooden door posts', Oslo, Kulturhistorisk Museum, C 33291. 1150–1200. Picture from Universitetsmuseenes IT-organisasjon <https://www.unimus.no>. Photo: Ove Holst. Reproduced with permission from Kulturhistorisk Museum and published online under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

Bødalen in Oppland, Norway, dated to *c.* 1150–1200 (Figure 154).[39]

In particular, the depiction of the running dog and the surrounding leaf ornamentation in AM 226 fol. appear to be more closely related to the Norwegian than to the French example. Despite the fact that no such door posts survive from Helgafell, it might well be that Magnús was inspired by a carved door post while illuminating AM 226 fol. Similar carved doors may have come to the monastic church at Helgafell, which was built in 1308,[40] and would at that time have still followed earlier wood-carving traditions known from Norway and Iceland. But no traces of this church have been found to date.

The ornamentation of illuminated Norwegian and Icelandic manuscripts from the fourteenth cen-

39 Hohler, *Norwegian Stave Church Sculpture*, I, 123.

40 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 341.

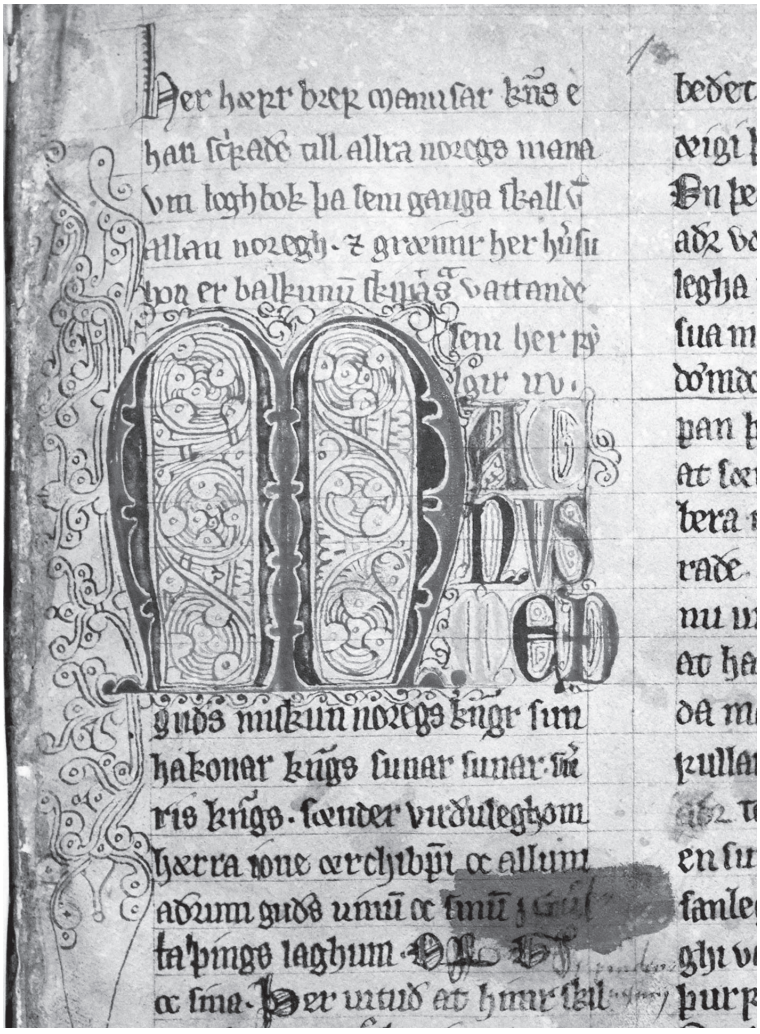

Figure 155. '*Fleuronnée* ornamentation', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 56 fol., f. 1$^{ra6–13}$. 1300. Photo: Friederike Richter, reproduced with permission.

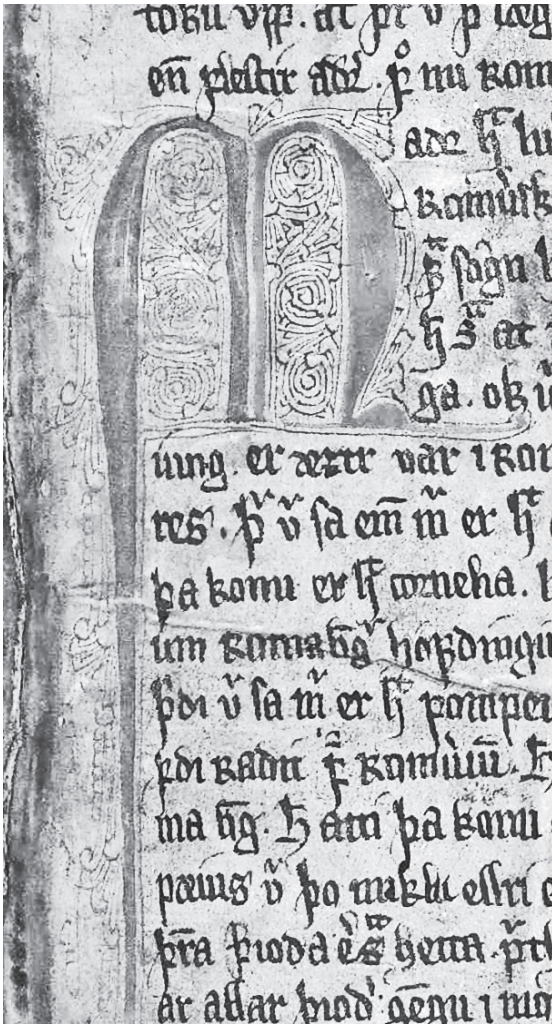

Figure 156. '*Fleuronnée* ornamentation', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 226 fol., f. 119$^{ra19–23}$. 1370. Picture from http://handrit.org.

tury does not draw on Romanesque styles exclusively. Around 1300, *fleuronnée* ornamentations with *oeufs-de-grenouille* also appear in Norway. These are generally interpreted as major ornamental features of the Gothic style (Figure 155) and may be termed the second stage of the ornamentation styles used at Helgafell. *Fleuronnée* ornamentations first appear in France some one hundred years earlier, in the second half of the twelfth century, from where they quickly spread around Europe with numerous regional adaptations.[41] Generally, these pen-flourished styles consist of rounded, S-swung palmette spirals with knotted ends, or clubbed plumules combined with *fleuronnée* staves that spread the ornamentation of the often dual-coloured initials to the surrounding areas of the margin. At Helgafell, they are in use at least until 1370, the date of illumination of AM 226 fol. (Figure 156). As with the previous stages, this style appears at the same time as the earliest Norwegian example in France and again suggests a French influence on the Norwegian and Icelandic workshops (Figure 157). Similar to the Helgafell manuscripts, this style remained in use in Norway at least up until the middle of the fourteenth century (Figure 158).

Two illuminated Norwegian manuscripts exist which were produced prior to the Black Death and which include historiated book painting. One of them is the vernacular *Landslǫg* codex Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, Mh 15 (Lundarbók), produced in *c.* 1305–20.[42] The textual content sug-

41 Jakobi-Mirwald, *Das mittelalterliche Buch*, pp. 264–65.

42 *Katalog*, ed. by Gödel, p. 28; Stefán Karlsson, 'Lítið eitt um Lundarbók', p. 224. The second is the law manuscript KB,

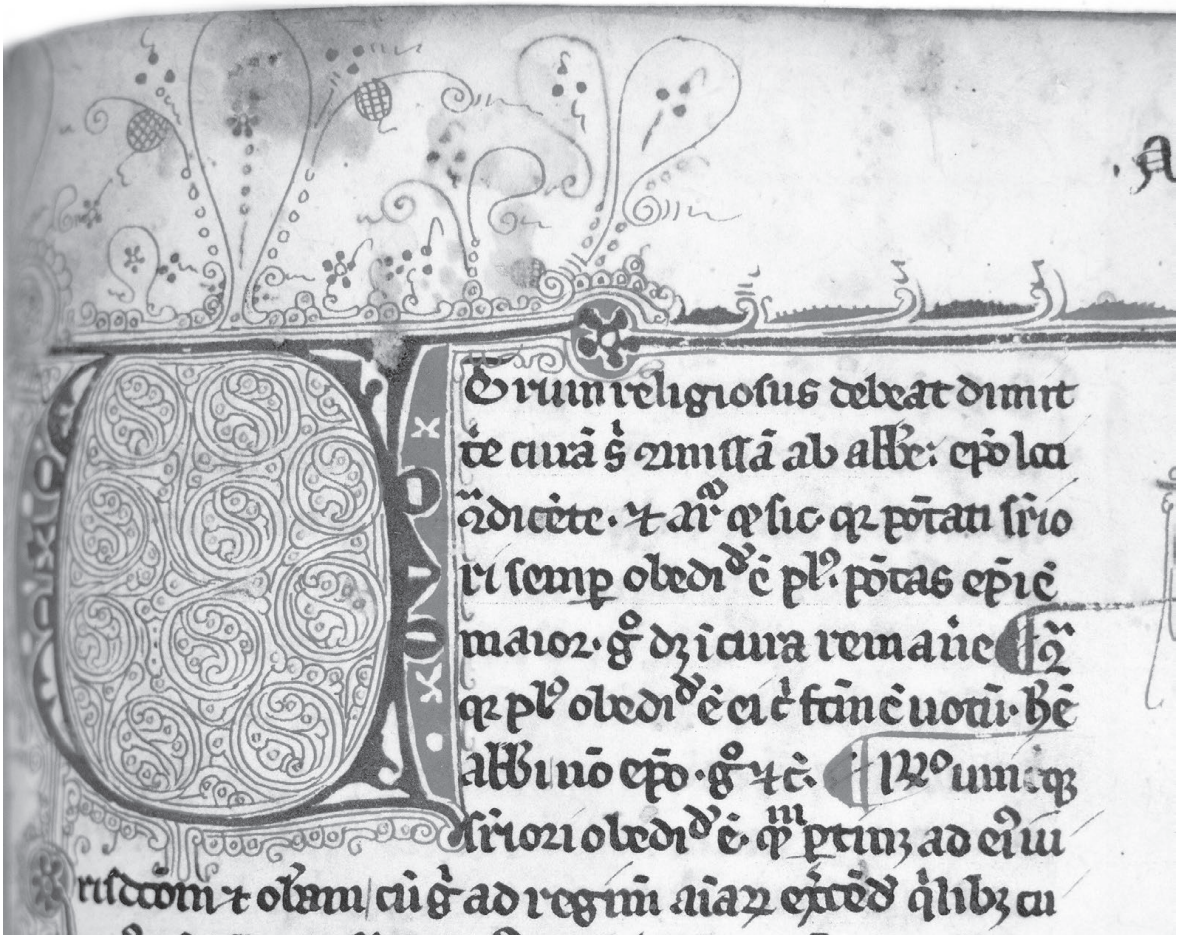

Figure 157. '*Fleuronnée* ornamentation', Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 732, fol. 69$^{ra1–8}$. 1250. Picture from Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Photo: Bibliothèque Municipale, reproduced with permission.

gests that it was produced in or near Bergen, as it also includes the previously mentioned town law *Bæjarbók Bjǫrgvinjar*.[43] The manuscript was most likely ordered by Árni Sigurðsson, bishop of Bergen in 1305–14, and finished under the supervision of his successor Auðfinn Sigurðsson, who served as bishop between 1314 and 1330.[44] Lundarbók is particularly important for linguistic reasons, since it contains the *Sauðabréfit* on ff. 132^{va16}–139^{vb}, a royal decree enacted in 1298 by Jarl Hákon *háleggr* (1270–1319) for the Faroese people and the second-oldest attes-

Figure 158. '*Fleuronnée* ornamentation', Oslo, Riksarkivet, NRA 24, f. 1^{r}. 1350. Photo: Riksarkivet, reproduced with permission.

MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 29, the main part of which was produced in *c.* 1300–50. The style of the minor initials in its first production unit on ff. 1^{r}–58^{v6} is related to Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, Mh 15 (Lundarbók), but the figural book painting draws on different sources. See Drechsler, 'Production and Content'. In contrast to Lundarbók, MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 29 contains very few historiated initials with limited text-related contents. For the dating of MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 29, see *Katalog*, ed. by Gödel, pp. 80–84.

43 For an introduction to law manuscript production in medieval Bergen, see Rindal, 'Lovgjeving og lovavskriving i Bergen i middelalderen'.

44 Stefán Karlsson, 'Lítið eitt um Lundarbók', pp. 221–23.

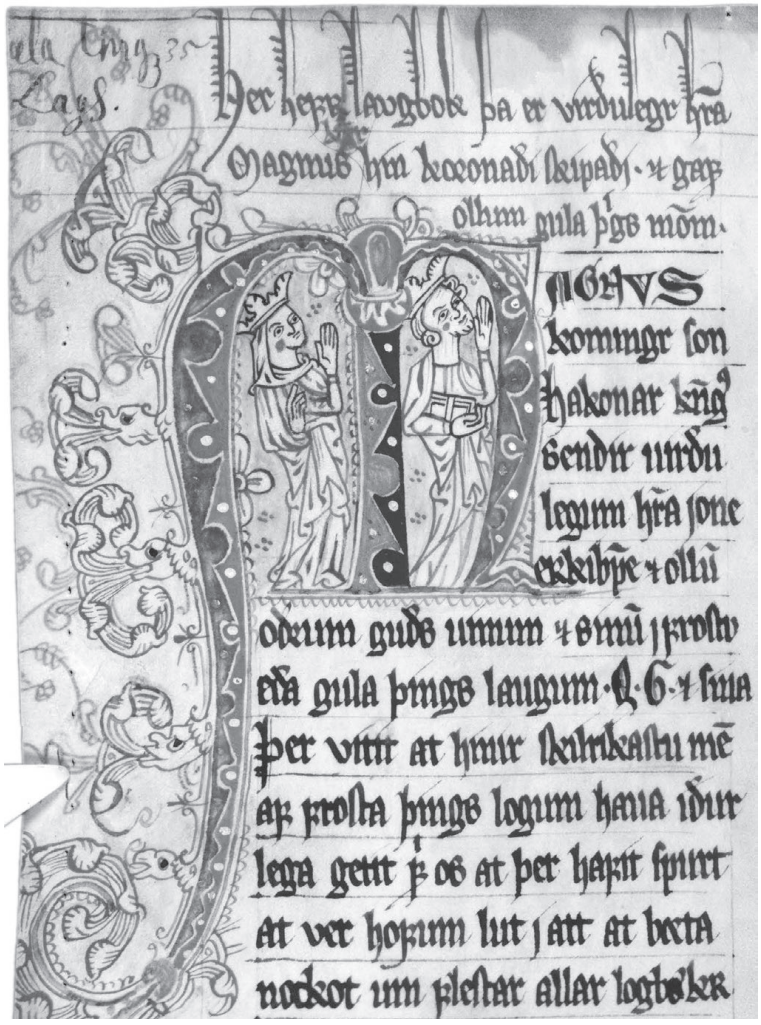

Figure 159. 'Muldenfaltenstil', Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, Mh 15 (Lundarbók), f. 61$^{va4–9}$. 1320. Picture from Alvin, <http://www.alvin-portal.org>. Photo: Universitetsbiblioteket, reproduced with permission.

Figure 160. 'Muldenfaltenstil', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 241 a I fol., f. 84$^{vb16–23}$. 1325.

tation of the Faroese language.[45] The single scribe of Lundarbók has been suggested to be Faroese, and the manuscript was likely produced for the diocese of Kirkjubøur.[46]

As with DAM, AM 304 fol. and other manuscripts produced in Norway in the early fourteenth century, the book painting of Lundarbók contains Romanesque ornamentation (Figure 159). In addition, the figural design of the Lundarbók initials indicates use of a late Romanesque style in the paintings of clothing, known as the 'Muldenfaltenstil'. This style is characterized by richly pleated draperies and tall figures, which in France and England were used for book paintings until 1250, and in Norway for seals, stone sculptures, and altar frontals until *c.* 1300.[47] Thus, if we agree that Lundarbók was ordered by the bishop of Bergen, it could be argued that its design was up-to-date with book painting in western Norway. In other artistic workshops, who were responsible for altar frontals and working in or near Bergen at the same time, the style went out of use some twenty years before Lundarbók was finished. This indicates that there was considerably less artistic contact between the various workshops in the greater Bergen area in the early fourteenth century than has been previously suggested.[48] It must be added that the styles found in the Norwegian altar frontals are generally mixed and both old and new styles are found side by side.[49] In western Iceland, the English version of the Muldenfaltenstil is found in a manuscript that belongs to the Barðastrandasýsla

45 The oldest attestation of the Faroese language is found in the law manuscript Tórshavn, Tjóðskjalasavnið, Sth. Perg. 33 4to (Kongsbókin), where the original of the named *Sauðabréfit* is found on ff. 73^{v}–74^{r}. The other parts of Kongsbókin have been dated to (mostly) *c.* 1300–25. For the dating, see *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, p. 666; *Katalog*, ed. by Gödel, pp. 94–95; and Jón Helgason, *Kongsbókin úr Føroyum*, pp. 103–04, 107, 112, and 117.

46 *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, pp. 698–700; see also Drechsler, 'Production and Content', pp. 23–24, with further references.

47 *Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1190–1250*, ed. by Morgan, I, 28; Morgan, 'Dating, Style and Groupings', pp. 25–28.

48 See Fett, 'Miniatyrer fra islandske haandskrifter', p. 6, and Bera Nordal, 'Lögbókarhandrítið Gks. 1154 I folio íslenskt handrit?', p. 173.

49 Hohler, 'Stilanalytisk metode', pp. 73–83.

group (Figure 160).[50] The scribes of this group had some connection with western Norway and likely produced manuscripts for clients in Bergen during the 1320s;[51] because of the production circumstances of the Icelandic codex, an artistic link to Bergen seems likely. As for the Helgafell network, a number of iconographic details in the law manuscripts AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), and AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók) (all SÁM) are known that link the Barðastrandasýsla group, Helgafell, and Lundarbók.[52]

In conclusion, the ornamentation in the Helgafell manuscripts follows a long tradition of Romanesque and Gothic ornamentation that was in use in Europe and Iceland for at least one hundred years. All three stages of ornamentation follow standards known from Norwegian as well as from French and English workshops, which predate the Helgafell material by at least twenty-five years. This use of ornamentation is by no means restricted to a certain area of Norway, since the Romanesque forms of ornamentations are found in various older fragments from all over the country. This temporal delay changes with the arrival of figural painting of the style known from Lundarbók and the Barðastrandasýsla group in the 1320s. Both indicate Bergen-related workshops with a possible contact to the broader Breiðafjörður area. There is no indication that the Muldenfaltenstil was used at Helgafell.

It is unknown which model books French and Scandinavian illuminators followed, as almost all of these books are now lost.[53] The influence of English thirteenth-century book painting on medieval Icelandic book painting is understudied. As for the text–image references in vernacular manuscripts, this is less relevant here: almost every manuscript and fragment in thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century England is written in Latin, with only small additions in Anglo-Norman French. Middle English, the traditional term for the language in England in the early fourteenth century, is almost entirely absent. It is mainly depicted as 'the language of the shepherds and illiterate, just as Anglo-Norman is the language of the wealthy and literate'.[54] Very few examples of the use of vernacular language in manuscripts from early fourteenth-century England or before are known, except for in marginal drawings, where less importance was given to the artistic quality of the paintings.[55]

Figure 161. 'Lovers and the God of Love', Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 2186, fol. 1r. 1200–1300. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, reproduced with permission.

Besides Latin, the language of the court and higher aristocracy was French up until *c*. 1350. This was largely due to the strong political connections and cultural norms, which English noblemen shared with the French nobility from Flanders, Artois, and Hainault.[56] Thus, in France and England, the main written language besides Latin was French. It should be noted that the early fourteenth-century London-produced Auchinleck manuscript (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, NLS Adv MS 19.2.1) is an unusual example of vernacular book painting, as it includes several small illustrations accompanying the Middle English chivalric texts.

50 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 191–95.
51 *Kongesagastudier*, ed. by Louis-Jensen, p. 20.
52 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 213; Drechsler, 'Production and Content', pp. 45–49.
53 Stones, 'Sacred and Profane Art', p. 109.
54 Emmerson, 'Visualizing the Vernacular', p. 195.
55 Emmerson, 'Visualizing the Vernacular', p. 198.
56 Kibbee, *For to speke Frenche trewely*, p. 57; Vale, 'Courts and Culture', pp. 92–93. See also Lewis, '"Apocalapses" in Text and Image'.

Nevertheless, an increasing intermixture between secular battle scenes and liturgical images, as displayed in the French vernacular manuscripts, is indeed also found in the works of the Helgafell illuminators A Hel 2 and Magnús Þórhallsson. This is exemplified in SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), where Magnús made use of the iconography of the Coronation of Mary to depict the election of Jarl Skúli Bárðarson (1189–1240) by King Hákon Hákonarson (1204–63) (see Figure 47, above).[57] In the thirteenth-century vernacular French romance *Roman de la Poire*, a reuse of the initially religious iconography is depicted: in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 2186, two lovers are shown below looking to the God of Love above (Figure 161). Both the placement of the two lovers and the secular adaptation of a religious image (the Coronation of Mary) are similar to the Icelandic example.

In addition to a related method used for the historiated book painting of Old French literature, the Helgafell illuminators were also familiar with French Bible illuminations of the thirteenth century. A Hel 2 and Magnús Þórhallsson made use of a number of iconographic images which appear in French Bibles from the second half of the thirteenth century. In the second production unit of DAM, AM 233 a fol., for example, at the beginning of *Mǫrtu saga ok Maríu Magðalenu*, A Hel 2 used an iconographic model structurally related to an image found in the French Bible manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 13 from *c.* 1270, which depicts Elkanah and his two wives (see Figure 133, above, and Figure 162). Most clearly related is an iconographic model that Magnús Þórhallsson used in DAM, AM 226 fol. and in Flateyjarbók. The iconography is of Nehemiah, Cupbearer of Artaxerxes, a specific feature of French Bible illuminations from the thirteenth century (see Figure 69, above, and Figure 163).[58] In addition to AM 226 fol., Magnús made use of the same iconography in Flateyjarbók on f. $5^{va39-48}$, depicting the first king to rule over all of Norway, Haraldr *hárfagri* Hálfdanarson (*c.* 850–931/32) (see Figure 73, above).[59] Thus, Magnús depicts in both examples powerful, pre-Christian kings.[60]

The adaptation and reuse of thirteenth-century French iconography is not restricted to Helgafell alone. At Þingeyrar, for example, French Bible images

Figure 162. 'Elkanah and Two Wives', Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 13, fol. 114^{vb8-14}. 1270–80. Picture from Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Photo: Bibliothèque Mazarine, reproduced with permission.

Figure 163. 'Artaxerxes and Nehemiah', Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 24, fol. 90^{rb}. 1270–1300. Picture from Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Photo: Bibliothèque Municipale, reproduced with permission.

57 Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', pp. 278–81; see also Stefán Karlsson, 'Hákon gamli og Skúli hertogi í Flateyjarbók'.

58 For the historiated content of English psalter illuminations, see Kauffmann, *Biblical Imagery*, pp. 156–59.

59 Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', p. 229.

60 Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', p. 230.

Figure 164. 'Deceased farmer', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3269 a 4to, f. 30$^{vb1–5}$. 1350.

Figure 165. 'Vision of Ezekiel', Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 15, fol. 316^{r}. 1250. Picture from Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Photo: Bibliothèque Mazarine, reproduced with permission.

appear in a number of initials, too, such as in the law manuscript SÁM, GKS 3269 a 4to, which was illuminated in *c.* 1350 (Figures 164–65).[61] In comparison, the original image used for French psalters in *c.* 1250 (here exemplified by Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 15), showing the first vision of Ezekiel, is clearly related to the initial introducing the *Jónsbók* section *Erfðatal*, which regulates the value distribution of goods to heirs and their direct relatives. Despite a change of subject (the topic in the example from Þingeyrar is the legacy of a deceased farmer), the adoption of iconography from the French example is similar to the development that characterizes historiated initials in the Helgafell manuscripts.[62] This situation is particular to the Icelandic and, to some degree, Norwegian illuminators of the fourteenth century, since other working places in Europe, such as France, seem to have shared less of a passion for the text–image relationships at that time. It is sometimes believed that medieval illuminators had limited acquaintance with the texts that they were illuminating, particularly in the case of texts that were mass-produced and composed in languages partly unknown to the illuminators.[63] This does not always seem to have been the case. In certain vernacular manuscripts, such as the early fourteenth-century English manuscript Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.3.52, which includes a newly established and unique cycle of Bible illustrations, initials relate closely to the sections of the French texts that they initiate.[64] This example, along with many others, indicates that the language in which manuscripts are written indeed affects the contents of the illuminations.

Iconographic images used in French manuscripts produced after *c.* 1300 are not found in the Helgafell manuscripts. It is unclear why this is so. One theory might be that the importation of thirteenth-century French manuscripts was linked to the large exportation of ecclesiastical art from the southern French region of Limoges. As has previously been shown, the importation of ecclesiastical art from Limoges declined in Norway and Iceland after *c.* 1300.[65] Until then, most churches seem to have acquired one of these enamels,[66] and in Iceland a large number of such items are registered in various church annals (*máldagar*).[67] The *Vilchinsmáldagi* from 1397 men-

61 Jakobsen, *Studier i Clarus saga*, pp. 12 and 46.

62 See also Drechsler, 'Production and Content', pp. 46–47, for further discussion in relation to the Norwegian law manuscript Mh 15 (Lundarbók).

63 Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, I, 254–60; Camille, 'Visualising in the Vernacular', p. 97, with further references. See also Stones, 'Text and Image'.

64 For the dating and content of MS Ee.3.52, see *Western Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Binski and Zutshi, pp. 147–48, and Camille, 'Visualising in the Vernacular'.

65 Solhaug, 'The "Hundtorp Chest"', pp. 342–43.

66 See Solhaug, 'Les Émaux limousins en Norvége'.

67 Studies on ecclesiastical art from Limoges in medieval Iceland are few; see Matthías Þórðarson, 'Róðukrossar með rómanskri

tions three *smellter krossar* (Limoges crosses) that belonged to Helgafell at that time,[68] two of which possibly were in the church in 1377–78 when a previous *máldagi* also mentions them,[69] but how they came to be there is unknown. In conclusion, the external influences on the illuminators from Helgafell were twofold: firstly, the technique of interpicturality most likely came with several illuminated vernacular manuscripts from northern France in the thirteenth century. Secondly, at the same time, images from thirteenth-century French Bible manuscripts were known at Helgafell, too, and some of their imagery was reused for manuscripts such as AM 233 a fol., AM 226 fol., and Flateyjarbók.

The Production of Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus)

With the onset of the fourteenth century, the influence of book painting from Europe seems to have switched from French to East Anglian manuscripts. Stylistic relationships between the East Anglian and northern French manuscript workshops were close in the early fourteenth century,[70] and northern French manuscripts and East Anglian codices share many stylistic similarities, even if the very grotesque imagery frequently present in the East Anglian manuscripts is less found in the French material. Whereas many illuminated Icelandic manuscripts had only distant artistic and personal connections with French and East Anglian material, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus) is different. Unique in several ways, this illuminated Norwegian law manuscript shares direct scribal and artistic connections with Helgafell. It is therefore appropriate to discuss the codex in relation to the various artistic and scribal circumstances that contributed to it. In line with most medieval western manuscripts, Codex Hardenbergianus went through several stages of production. The first production unit consists of the initial eight gatherings (ff. 1^{v}–59) and was most likely the work of an Icelandic scribe writing this section during the first ten years after the Black Death arrived in Bergen in 1349. The second (ff. 62–88^{rb}) was written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century by a second scribe and includes ecclesiastical laws, as well as statutes and a copy of the important Concordat of Tønsberg from 9 March 1277.[71] Finally, the third production unit was added by a large number of scribes in the early sixteenth century (ff. 59–61 and 89–100) and includes further law amendments.[72] Altogether, Codex Hardenbergianus was written by thirteen scribes.[73] It is believed that the manuscript comprises three originally independent volumes and that its present form is thus a composite.[74] For this book, only the first production unit is important. Unfortunately, the earliest provenance of this part is largely unknown, though an almost erased signature in the bottom margin of f. 60^{r}, dated to the middle or end of the fourteenth century, indicates its owner to be a bishop.[75]

The text of the oldest production unit contains a shortened redaction of *Gulaþingslǫg Landslaganna*, the western Norwegian Gulaþing-version of the mentioned national *Landslǫg* decreed by King Magnús Hákonarson (1238–80) in 1274. *Gulaþingslǫg Landslaganna* in Codex Hardenbergianus has little in common with other manuscript redactions of the same law code, although in some cases it shares similar variants, omissions, and wording with a number of other Norwegian law manuscripts, among others three codices and one fragment written by the so-called NGL scribe in or near Bergen in *c.* 1320:[76] Oslo, Riksarkivet, NRA 35 A, AM 60 4to (ff. 8–103), AM 304 fol. (ff. 1–65), and AM 322 fol. (ff. 20–28, ff. 30–90) (all DAM).[77] Although a number of other manuscripts featuring *Landslǫg* share

gerð', and Þór Magnússon, 'Limoges verk á Íslandi'.

68 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 170.

69 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 328.

70 Research on stylistic and iconographic similarities between East Anglian and northern French illuminated manuscripts is numerous. A selection is Wormald, 'Continental Influence', pp. 16–20; Morgan, 'Some French Interpretations of English Illustrated Apocalypses', pp. 137–39 and 147; Sandler, 'Illuminated in the British Isles'; Dennison, 'Flemish Influence on English Manuscript Painting in East Anglia'; and King, 'Medieval Art in Norfolk and the Continent', pp. 92–98.

71 For the content of ff. 62–88^{rb} in GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), see *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, pp. 390–91.

72 For the content of ff. 88^{v}–100 in GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), see *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, pp. 391–93.

73 Rindal, 'The Legislation of King Magnus Håkonsson', pp. 18–19.

74 *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, p. 393; Kålund, *Katalog*, II, 27.

75 Rindal, 'The History of Old Nordic Manuscripts II', p. 805. It should be mentioned that, on f. 1^{r} in GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), the nine rules for judges by St Birgitta were added. These were written in the early fifteenth century. See Adams, *The Revelations of St Birgitta*, pp. 37–39, with further references.

76 The term NGL scribe was introduced by Anna Catharina Horn, *Lov og texts in middelalderen*, p. 110, referring to *Norges Gamle Love*, II, ed. by Keyser and Munch, pp. 7–174, who used DAM, AM 60 4to as the main text for their critical edition of *Landslǫg*.

77 For these and other manuscripts textually related to GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), see Rindal, 'The Legislation of King Magnus Håkonsson', p. 24; and Horn, *Lov og tekst i middelalderen*, p. 213. For the dating of AM 60 4to, AM 304 fol., AM 322 fol., and NRA 35 A, see *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, pp. 476, 502, 547, and 770.

further textual similarities, two of the works written by the NGL scribe share a further feature with Codex Hardenbergianus: the use of similar blue and brown colours for the grounding of the gilding in AM 322 fol. and NRA 35 A, as well as the gilding itself. Despite the temporal difference, it appears likely that the gilding and two-coloured grounding in all three works was conducted at the same workshop. This workshop was most likely located in Bergen, either at the royal estate at Holmen, or at one of the gilding workshops at Øvregaten.[78]

The works by the NGL scribe include the Bergen-specific town law *Bæjarbók Bjǫrgvinjar*,[79] and AM 304 fol. was possibly exported to western Iceland after completion: According to notes made by Árni Magnússon, AM 304 fol. was owned by Jón Finnsson of Flatey in the seventeenth century.[80] At that time, Jón also owned the kings' saga codex Flateyjarbók, which originated in the wider Helgafell network.[81] Jón's relation to the Augustinian house is unclear, but several of the manuscripts related to Helgafell were owned by families who lived nearby, even several centuries after the manuscripts were produced.[82] The textual content of AM 304 fol. not only suggests that the manuscript stems from Bergen, but also that there was an established exchange between Bergen and Helgafell, probably as early as the first decades of the fourteenth century.

The Norwegian manuscripts written by the NGL scribe display a closely related mise-en-page, and several show large initials at the beginning of major chapter breaks,[83] similar to Codex Hardenbergianus. The largest of them, AM 322 fol., and the first production unit — comprising a *kalendarium* on ff. 1–3 of the related DAM, AM 733 4to — as well as the fragment Oslo, Riksarkivet, NRA 35 A all show remnants of gold leaf, which is a highly unusual feature for Old Norse manuscripts in general. AM 733 4to probably once belonged to AM 322 fol., among other

Figure 166. 'Calvary group', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 733 4to, f. $5^{va21–30}$. 1330. Picture from http://handrit.org.

fragments.[84] This is mainly due to the similar size of the remaining leaves (260 × 175 mm) and the later added table of contents in AM 322 fol., which also lists the content of AM 733 4to. This fragment was written *c.* 1320–30 by two scribes, neither of which appears in AM 322 fol.[85] At the same time, the major initials on the first three leaves were illuminated by a book painter, who used similar models to the painters of AM 322 fol. and other fragments related to the main scribe of AM 322 fol. The second part of AM 733 4to on ff. 4–6 includes a *missale*, was written by another scribe, and was illuminated by a different illuminator, who appears to be stylistically related to the cultural surroundings of the 'Helgafell Master'. The size of the leaves of this second section of AM 733 4to is the same as in the first unit and in AM 322 fol.,[86] and it has been assumed that this part was, similar to ff. 1–3, initially written for AM 322 fol., too.[87] The image related to AM 733 4to is found on f. 5^{v}; it depicts the Calvary Group, and it may have shared a similar sketch book with the miniature in the law manuscript SÁM, GKS 3270 4to from *c.* 1350, as discussed in Chapter 3 (see Figures 22–23, above, and Figure 166). Despite the less refined execution of the Norwegian example and the different postures of Mary and John the Baptist, the leaning posture of Christ in the centre, the halos of all three figures, and the drapery of their gowns appear

78 For a short overview, see Danbolt, 'Malerkunsten i Bergen i middelalderen'.

79 *Norges Gamle Love*, v, ed. by Storm and Hertzberg, pp. 3–5.

80 Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 257. AM 304 fol. displays imprints of Romanesque ornamentation in the lower margins on two facing leaves, ff. 39^{v}–40^{r}. Interestingly, linked Romanesque ornamentations, similarly placed in the lower margin, are found in several manuscripts of the Helgafell network such as SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók) on f. 5^{v} (see Figure 22, above) and AM 168 a 4to on f. 2^{r}. But the reduced quality of the imprints in the leaves of AM 304 fol. makes it impossible to argue for stronger stylistic ties between the book painting of this Norwegian manuscript and the codices and fragments from the Helgafell network.

81 Kålund, *Katalog*, II, 15.

82 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 45–47.

83 See Horn, *Lov og tekst i middelalderen*, pp. 108–09, 112–14, 116–18, 146–47, and 162.

84 *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, p. 506.

85 *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, p. 507.

86 For ff. 3–6 in AM 733 4to, see *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, pp. 509–10, and Schnall, 'Recht und Heil', pp. 87–89.

87 *Norges Gamle Love*, IV, ed. by Storm, p. 509.

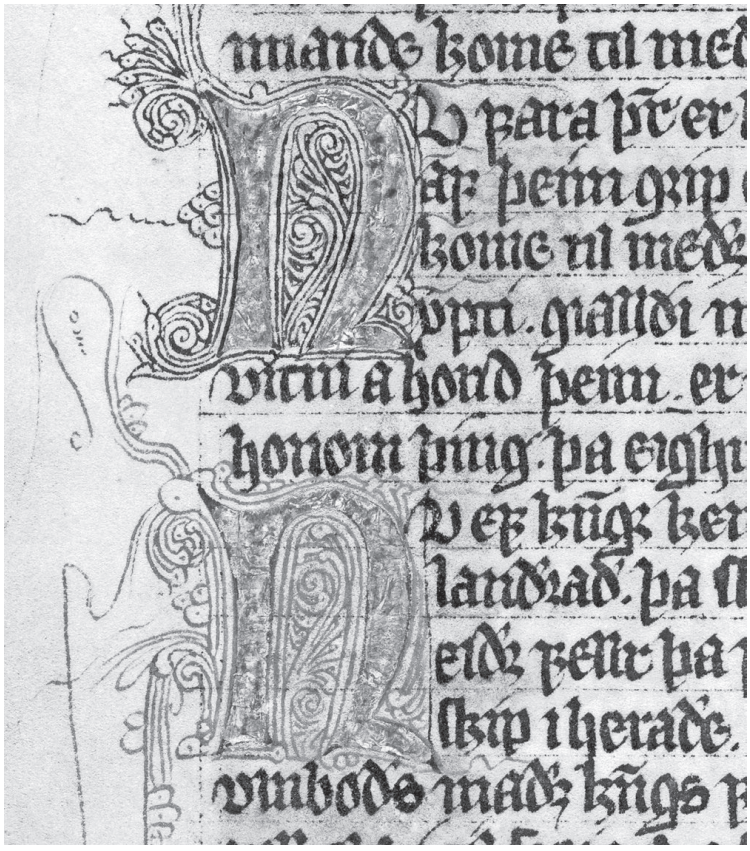

Figure 167. '*Fleuronnée* ornamentation', Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), f. $14^{v18–27}$. 1360. Photo: Nationalbiblioteket, Oslo. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 168. 'Tunics', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 3268 4to, f. $2^{va1–6}$. 1350.

related. Finally, also a similarly coloured background appears to be related to the miniature in GKS 3270 4to. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that the two illuminators shared more than a sketch in a model book for these two miniatures.

As with the workshop responsible for AM 322 fol. (and AM 733 4to), the exact site of the western Norwegian production of Codex Hardenbergianus (ff. 1–59^{r}) remains unknown. Nevertheless, due to its excellent execution, it was certainly produced at a workshop with a well-established network of experienced craftsmen, including scribes and illuminators. Either way, Codex Hardenbergianus offers iconographic and stylistic resemblances to a number of manuscripts from the Helgafell workshop itself as well as from its wider network. This link is most likely embodied by the scribe of the Norwegian law manuscript, as this scribe was in all likelihood part of the Helgafell network.

The scribe and the dating of the first production unit of Codex Hardenbergianus have been discussed in the past. While Magnus Rindal suggested an Icelandic orthography of the presumed Norwegian scribe and dated the manuscript to *c.* 1300–50,[88] Stefán Karlsson concluded that ff. 1^{v}–59 of Codex Hardenbergianus was written in *c.* 1350–60.[89] According to Stefán Karlsson, the experienced scribe was Icelandic and was also responsible for most parts of the Helgafell-related law manuscript SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), as discussed in Chapter 3. The oldest part of Belgsdalsbók was written by two main scribes, one of whom was the main scribe of Codex Hardenbergianus. In line with several Norwegian law manuscripts, Codex Hardenbergianus contains lines ruled in ink throughout the first production unit. As discussed, the same is found in the first section of Belgsdalsbók. Codex Hardenbergianus and Belgsdalsbók thus share a common production history, not only in terms of the writing process, but also in terms of shared pictorial models. Codex Hardenbergianus exhibits several unusually large historiated major initials. In line with previous discussions on the dating of the script, the dating of the book painting has been further investigated by art histori-

88 See Rindal, 'The Legislation of King Magnus Håkonsson', pp. 19–23, and Rindal, 'The History of Old Nordic Manuscripts II', p. 806.

89 Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande', pp. 167 and 179.

ans, and due to a number of distinctive features in the clothing style, it has been argued that the manuscript was illuminated as early as *c.* 1330–50.[90] This does not correlate with the dating of the text. In line with the dating proposed above, it may be concluded that the book painting of Codex Hardenbergianus was not finished before 1360, since the common practice of adding the book painting to the manuscript later was clearly carried out in Codex Hardenbergianus, too. The practice of later addition is indicated in the rubrics, which were written by a second scribe. This second scribe was possibly that of the book painter, since all text–image references relate in a similar way to iconographic topics, as is common in illuminated Icelandic manuscripts.[91] Furthermore, the ornamentation of minor initials in Codex Hardenbergianus is well in line with the previously discussed second stage of ornamentation in western Scandinavia generally, including Helgafell. Accordingly, minor initials in Codex Hardenbergianus are embellished with similar Gothic ornamental features such as *œufs-de-grenouille* and *fleuronnée* decorations (see Figures 155–58, above, and Figure 167).

It is worth mentioning that the illuminations of Codex Hardenbergianus were also dated on the basis of a specific stylistic feature of the clothing.[92] The basis for this dating is found in the largely exaggerated sleeve openings of the tunics, a feature which also appears in a number of other depictions in European art that were produced at the same time.

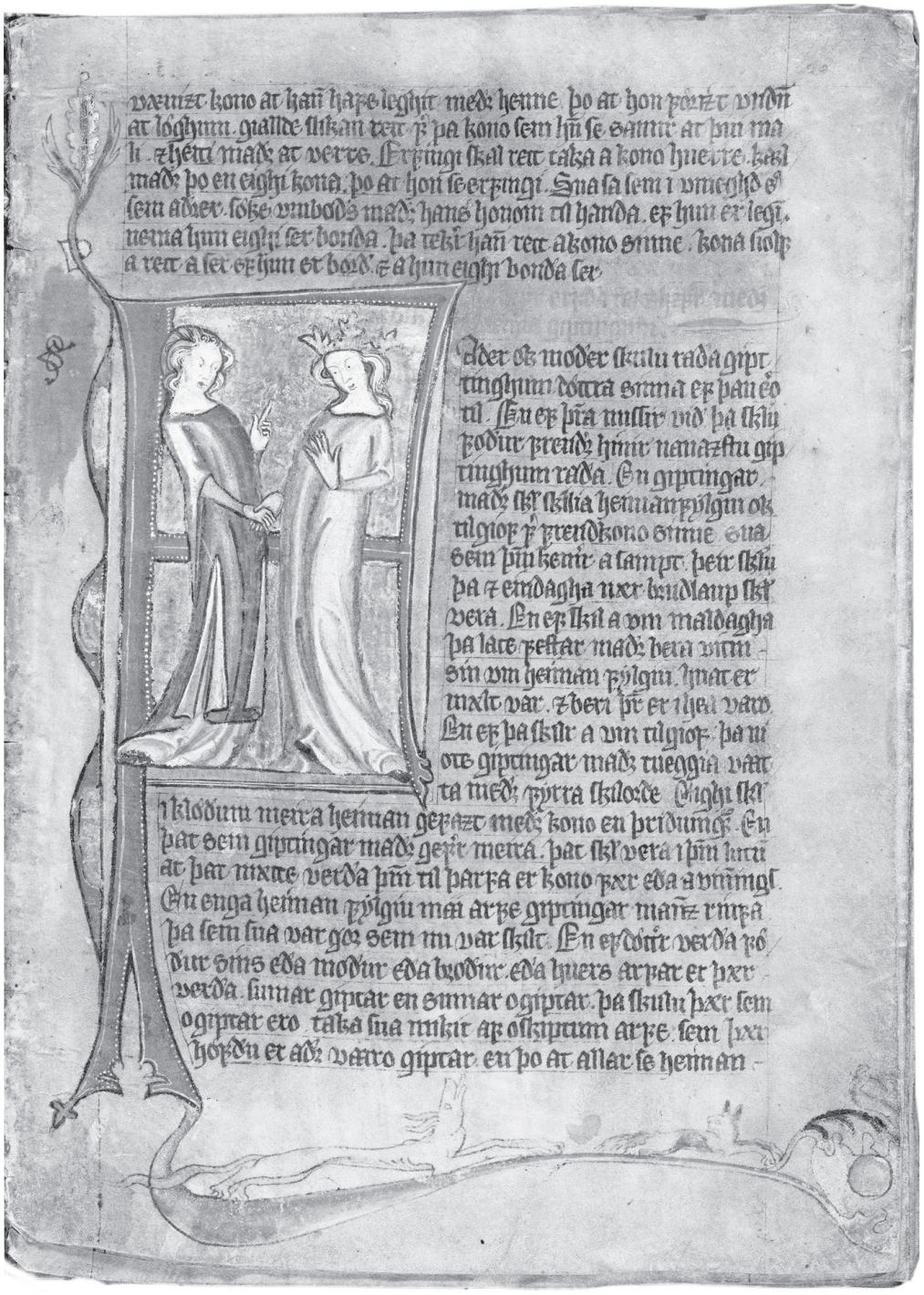

Figure 169. 'Tunics', Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), f. $24^{r8–25}$. 1360. Photo: Nationalbiblioteket, Oslo. Reproduced with permission.

Albeit much less refined, similarly painted garments appear in two initials in the Icelandic SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók) and Belgsdalsbók, as well as in one initial in a law manuscript from the *Skálholtsannáll hinn forni* group, SÁM, GKS 3268 4to (see Figure 96, above, and Figures 168–69). Although

90 Liepe, *Den medeltida kroppen*, pp. 153–54; Hohler, 'The Frontals in their Contemporary Society', p. 70; Andersson, 'Kläderna och människan', p. 63.

91 Drechsler, 'The Illuminated Þjófabálkr', p. 21.

92 Andersson, 'Kläderna och människan', p. 63.

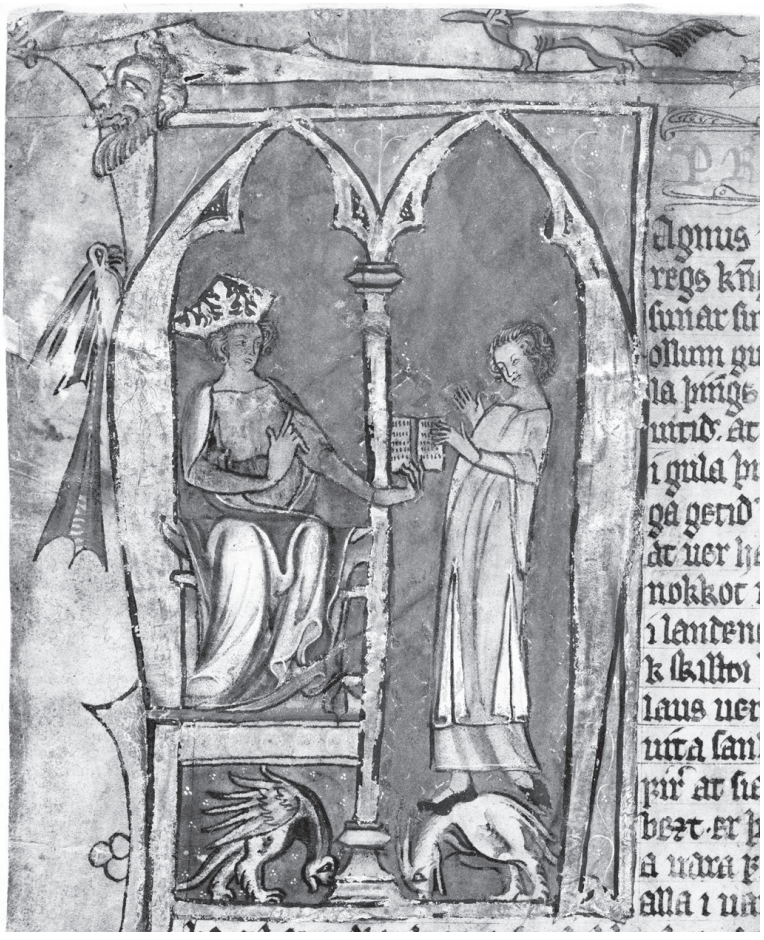

Figure 170. 'King Magnús Hákonarson and servant', Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), f. $1^{v1–19}$. 1360. Photo: Nationalbiblioteket, Oslo. Reproduced with permission.

the date of the clothing does not correlate with the date of writing, it shows that the style was indeed known in Iceland in the early fourteenth century, and likely also in Norway.

Alongside resemblances in the script, pictorial similarities between Codex Hardenbergianus and Belgsdalsbók have been discussed by art historians in relation to the book painting of the slightly older Icelandic law manuscript Svalbarðsbók from *c*. 1330–40.[93] Some of the motifs in the Norwegian codex possibly arrived in Bergen with the scribe from Iceland in 1350 and were then integrated into local standards of vernacular law iconography.[94]

Three images in Codex Hardenbergianus relate to pictorial models used for Belgsdalsbók and Svalbarðsbók.[95]

The first is found at the start of the initial text, the *Bréf Magnúss konungs*; an introductory letter by King Magnús Hákonarson (see Figures 93–94, above, and Figure 170). It depicts the enthroned king handing over the new national law code to a servant. In comparison, the two Icelandic initials undoubtedly draw on a similar model exemplified by the uniform posture of the king and the focus on the legal document in the centre. A related model was used in Codex Hardenbergianus, but repainted in a more advanced High Gothic style.[96] A similar use of iconographic models is also indicated in the second initial of the Norwegian codex, as the image builds upon the iconography of the initials found in three Icelandic manuscripts (see Figure 21 and Figures 95–96, above, and Figure 171). The Christ in Majesty iconography at the beginning of the *Þingfararbálkr* appears first in two law manuscripts from *c*. 1340, some twenty years before the first part of Codex Hardenbergianus was completed: in Svalbarðsbók on f. $2^{va16–22}$, and in SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to on f. $1^{va7–12}$. Furthermore, in 1350, the iconographic model used for Svalbarðsbók was used for the *Þingfararbálkr* section in the *Jónsbók* text of Belgsdalsbók, as discussed in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, in Codex Hardenbergianus, the iconographic content was taken into a new complex legislative pattern unknown from other illuminated medieval Scandinavian law codices.

This initial introduces the second main section, named *Þingfararbálkr*, which defines the constitution and arrangement of law speakers in Norway and Iceland, respectively. All three initials depict the iconography of Christ in Majesty, a common iconographic form of the Last Judgement, and in the Icelandic manuscripts these initials draw on a similar model. In Codex Hardenbergianus, Christ is depicted with two swords issuing from his mouth.

93 These include Fett, 'Miniatyrer fra islandske haandskrifter', pp. 25–27; Matthías Þórðarson, 'Islands middelalderkunst', p. 340; *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, pp. 24–25; Berg, 'The Illuminations in No. 1154 Folio', pp. 25–28 and p. 33; Bera Nordal, 'Lögbókarhandrítið Gks. 1154 I folio íslenskt handrit?', pp. 166–75; and Johansson and Liepe, 'Text and Images'.

94 A common, though erroneous, earlier conclusion was that the Icelandic manuscripts show pictorial models originally found in GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus). This is not likely because AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók) has been dated some ten years before Codex Hardenbergianus. See Fett, 'Miniatyrer fra islandske haandskrifter', pp. 25–27, and Berg, 'The Illuminations in No. 1154 Folio', p. 33. See also Bera Nordal, 'Lögbókarhandrítið Gks. 1154 I folio íslenskt handrit?', p. 174, who suggested a general Icelandic origin of Codex Hardenbergianus. This was dismissed by Lena Liepe in *Studies*, p. 142, since the style of the historiated initials in the codex are little related to Icelandic book painting.

95 Historiated initials in GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus) are found on f. $1^{v1–19}$ (*Bréf Magnúss konungs*), f. $2^{v16–22}$ (*Þingfararbálkr*), f. $6^{r5–21}$ (*Kristindómsbálkr*), f. $9^{v21–32}$ (*Landavarnarbálkr*), f. $15^{v1–18}$ (*Mannhelgisbálkr*), f. $24^{r8–25}$ (*Kvennagiftingar*), f. $26^{r21–34}$ (*Erfðatal*), f. $32^{r12–29}$ (*Landabrigðabálkr*), f. $35^{r18–32}$ (*Landsleigubálkr*), f. $51^{r1–15}$ (*Kaupabálkr*), and f. $57^{r7–22}$ (*Þjófabálkr*).

96 Johansson and Liepe, 'Text and Images', p. 133.

The iconography is known to symbolize the two governments of *regnum* and *sacerdotium* (state and Church), the spiritual and secular sections of a medieval Christian commonwealth.[97] The two kneeling figures below Christ support the political nature of this image, as they represent the most important figures of the two separations of power: king and bishop. In addition, the figure to the left above Christ relates to the division between Church and state, since it most likely represents Luke the Apostle, who first mentioned a relationship between Christ and the two swords (Luke 22. 38).[98] The quote from the Gospel of Luke is known to have inspired Pope Gelasius I (d. 496) in 494 to present the two governments in the symbolic form of swords,[99] and this was further elaborated in 1302 by Pope Bonifatius VII (1230–1303) with his bull on the papal supremacy (*Unam sanctam*). In the two law manuscripts, the reference to the separation of Church and state might relate to the Concordance of Tønsberg (*Sættargerð í Túnsberg*) between Archbishop Jón *rauði* of Niðaróss and King Magnús Hákonarson from 9 August 1277, which speci-

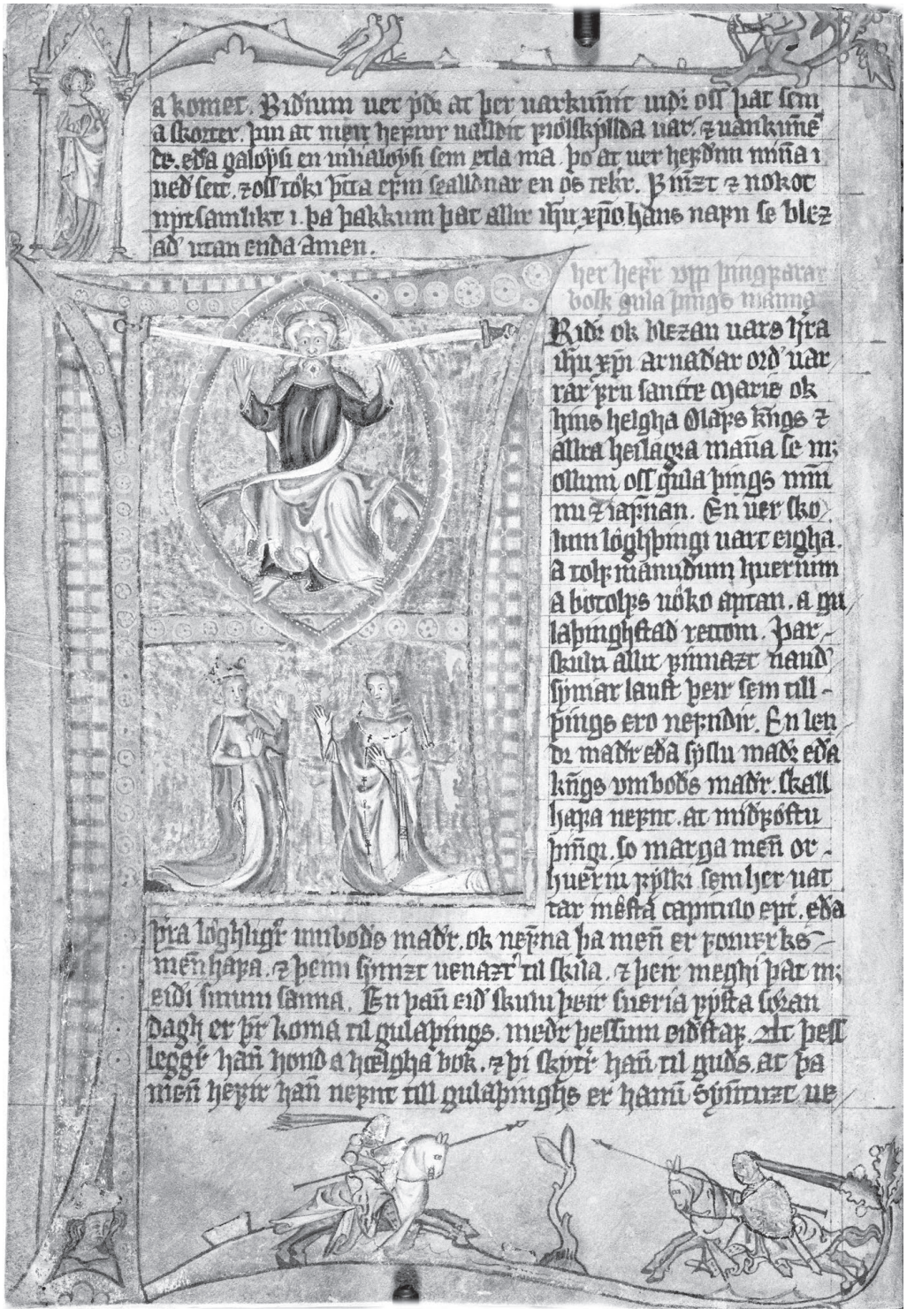

Figure 171. 'Christ in Majesty', Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), f. 2ᵛ. 1360. Photo: Nationalbiblioteket, Oslo. Reproduced with permission.

97 Depictions of the two governments of *regnum* and *sacerdotium* have existed since the thirteenth century. For an early example, see Caviness, 'Conflicts between Regnum and Sacerdotium'.

98 In the past, the figure has been 'tentatively [identified] as St John, the author of the Book of Revelations, from where the vision of Christ as judge is taken' by Johansson and Liepe in 'Text and Images', p. 133. This is, however, unlikely, as the visual emphasis on the two swords and the king and bishop below are not sufficiently explained by reference to John the Apostle, who is not linked to this separation of powers.

99 Goez, 'Zwei-Schwerter-Lehre'.

Figure 172. 'Christ in Majesty', Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mscr.Dresd.M.32, f. 4^{v}. 1320. Picture from digital.slub-dresden.de. Photo: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek. Reproduced with permission.

Figure 173. 'Christ in Majesty', Oldenburg, Landesbibliothek, CIM I 410, f. 6^{v}. 1336. Picture by Landesbibliothek. Reproduced with permission from Niedersächsische Sparkassenstiftung.

fied the separation of ecclesiastical and royal powers in Norway.[100]

The iconographic combination of Christ in Majesty with the two swords and accompanied by a bishop and a king on the same leaf also appears in two illuminated German law manuscripts containing the Middle Low German *Sachsenspiegel* (Figures 172–73). Both images were illuminated in the early fourteenth century and refer to a similar model, but they are not related to the image in Codex Hardenbergianus. Even so, the iconography of the division of the two governments through Christ is identified in both models, as well as the simple fact that the respective law texts in which they appear are written in the vernacular. As with the Icelandic *Jónsbók* and the Norwegian *Landslǫg*, the *Sachsenspiegel* is the oldest illuminated vernacular law code in Germany.

The two mounted knights in the lower margins on f. 2^{v} of Codex Hardenbergianus, on the other hand, refer to a related image in the Bible manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Lat. 10435, written and illuminated in late thirteenth-century France (Figure 174). It shows that, at the time of production, several iconographic sources were used for Codex Hardenbergianus.

The pattern of depicting a division of state and Church is found again in the next historiated initial in Codex Hardenbergianus, as well as in the earlier Icelandic Belgsdalsbók (see Figure 97, above, and Figure 175). The initials introduce *Kristindómsbálkr*, the general regulations of a Christian commonwealth in Norway and Iceland, respectively. Both initials depict a king and bishop facing each other and holding their royal and ecclesiastical insignia. Despite the more advanced Gothic style in Codex Hardenbergianus, the model of the two initials refers to a common source.

Other illuminations in Codex Hardenbergianus differ significantly from the initials in Belgsdalsbók

100 Although the *Sættargerð í Túnsbergi* did not end the struggle between Church and state in medieval Norway and Iceland, it remained the most important concordat on the matter. For the *Sættargerð í Túnsbergi* and later conflicts between Church and state, see Seip, *Sættargjerden i Tunsberg*, and Haug, 'Konkordat – konflikt – privilegium', with further references.

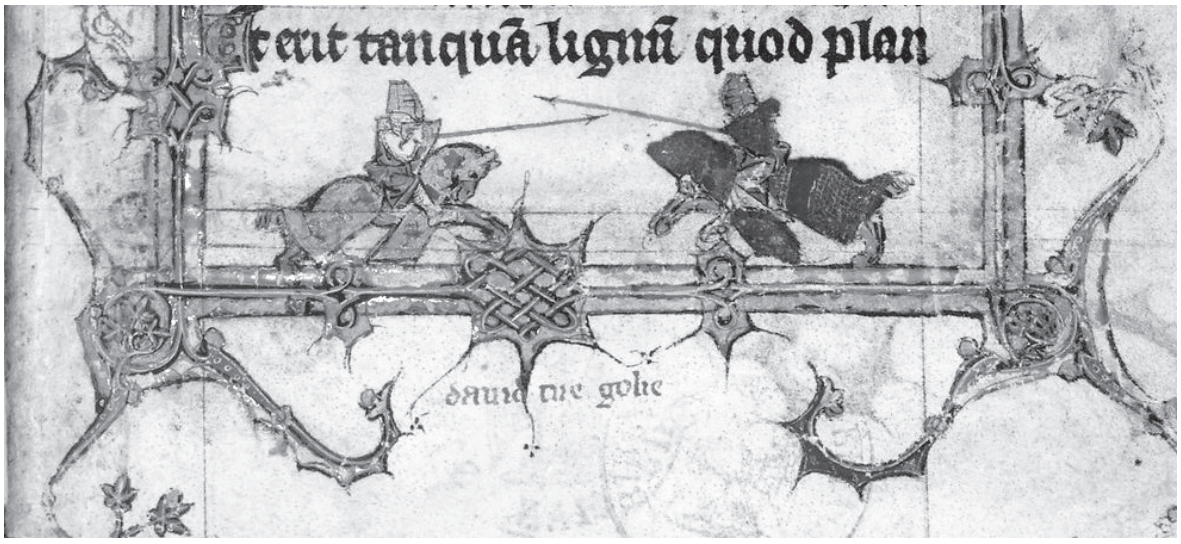

Figure 174. 'Fighting knights', Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Lat. 10435, fol. 1r. 1290. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, reproduced with permission.

and Svalbarðsbók.[101] Such iconographic differences are not unusual: the two Icelandic codices discussed above, and other codices from the wider Helgafell network, also differ from each other in terms of their iconographic content,[102] and it is indeed the first three major initials of the Icelandic *Jónsbók* and the Norwegian *Landslǫg* that include the greatest extent of shared or similar images. As for the first and third of the three major initials in the Norwegian manuscript, the original iconographic pattern seems to have arrived with the main scribe in Bergen and then integrated into an existing pattern of law iconography, which is mostly unknown to us today. It has been suggested that H Hel 7, the second main scribe of the older part of Belgsdalsbók, was responsible for all rubrics and also for the painting of the major initials.[103] As far as the book painting goes, this theory remains unconfirmed; there are no further manuscripts written or illuminated by that scribe and/or illuminator,[104] nor is the date of the book painting clearly definable. However, since the illuminations of Belgsdalsbók are only found in the older part dated to *c.* 1350, it is indeed possible that the book painting was finished before the main scribe H Hel 8 arrived in Bergen to write the first production unit of Codex Hardenbergianus (ff. 1v–59) in *c.* 1350–60.

Figure 175. 'King and bishop', Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), f. 6r5–21. 1360. Photo: Nationalbiblioteket, Oslo. Reproduced with permission.

This is attested in the simple codicological fact that the oldest part of Belgsdalsbók ends abruptly after the eleventh gathering, and that the book painting of its two production units was executed by different illuminators. Accordingly, Belgsdalsbók seems to have been intended originally only to include ff. 1–84,[105] similarly to the oldest part of Codex

101 For the book painting in GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), see Berg, 'The Illuminations in No. 1154 Folio', and Drechsler, 'Production and Content', pp. 44–45.

102 Johansson and Liepe, 'Text and Images', pp. 153–54.

103 Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande', p. 184.

104 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 164.

105 See Chapter 3 and *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, I, ed. by Jón Sigurðsson, p. 119.

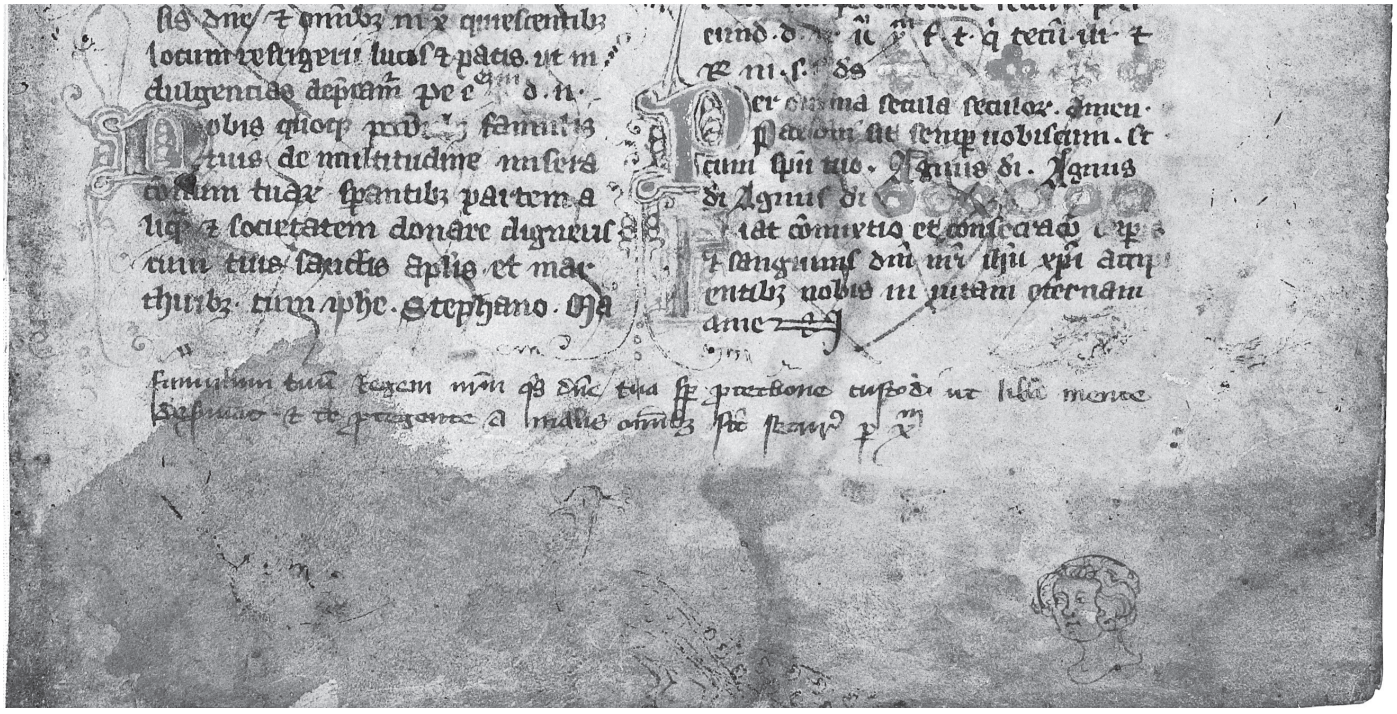

Figure 176. 'Peacocks', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 733 4to, f. 6r. 1330. Picture from http://handrit.org.

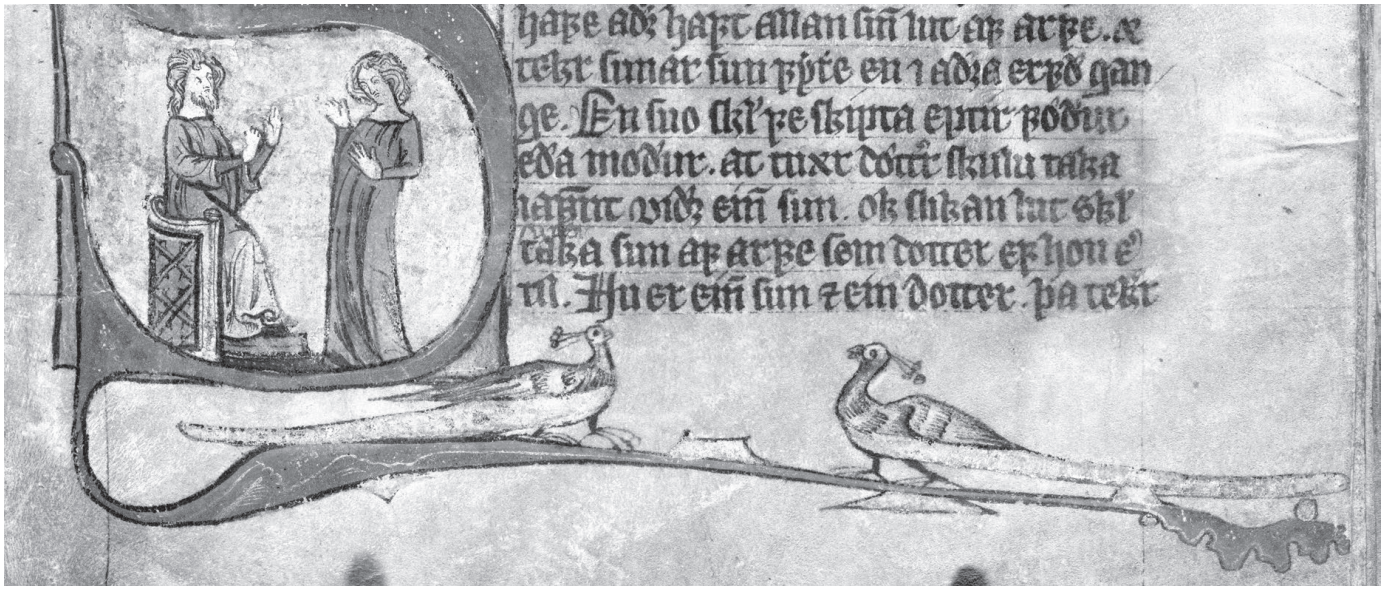

Figure 177. 'Peacocks', Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), f. 26r. 1360. Photo: Nationalbiblioteket, Oslo. Reproduced with permission.

Hardenbergianus. It is likely that Belgsdalsbók acted as iconographic model for the first and third initial of Codex Hardenbergianus ('King Magnús Hákonarson and servant' and 'King and bishop'), since the first production unit of Belgsdalsbók was finished before the production of the Norwegian codex was initiated.

Several unhistoriated depictions found in the margins of Codex Hardenbergianus seem to point towards earlier book-painting traditions. As discussed previously, the style of the illuminator of Codex Hardenbergianus does not relate to Belgsdalsbók. Yet, a distant influence on these images is perhaps found in a marginal painting depicting peacocks in Belgsdalsbók on f. 12r (see Figure 97, above), as well as the second production unit of the previously discussed Norwegian AM 733 4to from *c.* 1320–30 (Figures 176–77).

Owing to the lack of other illuminated mid-fourteenth-century manuscripts from Norway, Codex Hardenbergianus has been compared with domestically produced altar frontals originating from the same century and earlier.[106] Importantly, this has resulted in the identification of a distant artistic influence from two altar frontals produced in *c.* 1325:[107] Bergen, Universitetsmuseet – Historisk Museum, MA 128 (Årdal I), and Oslo, Universitetets Oldsakssamlingen, C. 17806 (Øye). Both are the work of a single painter and were possibly produced for the aristocracy living in western Norway in the vicinity of Sogndal at Årdal and Filefjell.[108] Despite their provenance, the two altar frontals share a number of stylistic resemblances with other altar frontals produced around the same time in Bergen.[109] The two altar frontals reflect similar poses and facial types as those found in Codex Hardenbergianus,[110] but there is no shared use of iconographic motifs. Nevertheless, the Årdal I altar frontal shares a number of stylistic features with Helgafell productions, such as an iconographic reference in a large initial in the law manuscript SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók):[111] In the largest ornamented initial of the codex, which marks the beginning of *Þjófabálkr*, ape-styled faces of the same prosecuted, bound, and hanged thief are painted in a way that resembles one of two tormentors of King Óláfr *helgi* Haraldsson in the altar frontal from Årdal (see Figure 38, above, and Figure 178).

A second reference to the Norwegian altar frontal is found in DAM, AM 226 fol., which was illuminated at Helgafell in *c.* 1370. On f. $1^{va1–7}$, illuminator Magnús Þórhallsson made use of a similar form of ornamentation, which was defined by circled frames at the arches of historiated scenes (see Figure 55, above).[112] This feature is found in all altar frontals produced in Bergen in *c.* 1300–50,[113] and these two examples may show that related motifs used by artists connected to the Codex Hardenbergianus were used at Helgafell in *c.* 1363–70, in other words, immediately after the production of the Norwegian codex.

Motifs used for Codex Hardenbergianus appear in Iceland, too. The manuscripts in question are the Helgafell codices AM 226 fol. and SÁM, AM 168 a 4to, a law manuscript of the wider Helgafell network that was written and illuminated in *c.* 1360.[114] AM 226 fol.

Figure 178. 'Ape-faced tormentors', Bergen, Universitetsmuseet – Historisk Museum, MA 128. 1325. Picture from Universitetsmuseenes IT-organisasjon <https://www.unimus.no>. Photo: Historisk Museum. Image reproduced with permission of the Historisk Museum and published online under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

106 See Fett, 'Miniatyrer fra islandske haandskrifter', p. 6; Berg, 'The Illuminations in No. 1154 Folio', pp. 33–34; and Bera Nordal, 'Lögbókarhandrítið Gks. 1154 I folio íslenskt handrit?', pp. 172–73. Little is known about the production of Norwegian altar frontals. Nevertheless, the last octave sheets (ff. $51^{v}–52^{v}$) of the Helgafell-related manuscript SÁM, AM 194 8vo from 1387 tells how statues and especially altar frontals should be decorated and painted. It has been suggested by Ólafur Halldórsson in 'Líkneskjusmíð', p. 15, that the description in AM 198 8vo derives from a text originally written around 1300. For AM 194 8vo and Helgafell, see Chapter 3; for the dating, see Table 2, above.

107 Morgan, 'Dating, Style and Groupings', pp. 33 and 36, with further references.

108 Morgan, 'Western Norwegian Panel Painting', p. 20; Stang, *Paintings, Patronage and Popular Piety*, pp. 169–70.

109 Morgan, 'Western Norwegian Panel Painting', p. 21.

110 Morgan, 'Dating, Style and Groupings', p. 38.

111 Drechsler, 'The Illuminated Þjófabálkr', p. 27.

112 Hohler, 'Stilanalytisk metode', pp. 78–80.

113 Morgan, 'Western Norwegian Panel Painting', pp. 20–21.

114 *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xli.

Figure 179. 'Elongated dog chasing a fox', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 168 a 4to, f. 43r. 1360.

Figure 180. 'Elongated dog chasing a rabbit', Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Lat. 10435, fol. 2v. 1290. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, reproduced with permission.

includes a historiated initial depicting 'Massimissa and servant' which relates to the image of the king and bishop on f. 6r in Codex Hardenbergianus (see Figure 69 and Figure 175, above). Despite the related iconography in Belgsdalsbók, it is the depiction of the king on the left in Codex Hardenbergianus that may have acted as a model for the image in AM 226 fol. In addition, AM 226 fol. and, more distantly, AM 168 a 4to depict a related image of an elongated dog chasing a fox (see Figure 71, above, and Figure 179). With respect to Helgafell, this image is also found in Codex Hardenbergianus (see Figure 169, above) which may have acted as a model. The image itself, however, is found numerous times in earlier English and French manuscripts,[115] such as the previously mentioned late thirteenth-century French codex Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Lat. 10435 (Figure 180). It may have been used for Codex Hardenbergianus in a fashion similar to the 'Fighting knights'-model discussed above.

Finally, numerous depictions of stumps in marginal borders of AM 226 fol. seem to refer to similar images first found in Codex Hardenbergianus, and in the Icelandic fragment Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Codex Ps. 24, produced in *c.* 1350 at the northern Icelandic Benedictine Þingeyrar monastery (see Figure 20, Figure 70, and Figure 177, above).[116] The two Icelandic examples suggest that images known in the artistic circle of the Codex Hardenbergianus were already known at Þingeyrar in *c.* 1350 and potentially reused at Helgafell in *c.* 1370.

115 English examples of this motif are found in the Percy Psalter consisting of London, British Library, Add. MS 70000 (Percy Psalter), and London, British Library, Add. MS 89379 (Percy Hours), which were written in the York diocese in the fourth quarter of the thirteenth century. On these manuscripts, see *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, I, 20–22.

116 For Codex Ps. 24 and Þingeyrar, see Chapter 3.

Artistic East Anglian Influences on Codex Hardenbergianus

Influences from East Anglian book painting on Codex Hardenbergianus and Norwegian art have been recognized in the literature for some time.[117] They are not restricted to illuminated manuscripts, but are also reflected in the Codex Hardenbergianus-related painters of the Årdal I and Øye altar frontals mentioned above. An example of cultural influence is found in Årdal I, where the centrally depicted saint appears to be St Botolph, a seventh-century saint from Suffolk. It is the only English saint shown in the thirty-one known Norwegian altar frontals produced in 1250–1350. The Old Norse spelling of the name, Bótolfr, appears in the thirteenth century in Iceland and Norway: one Icelandic bishop from the diocese of Hólar (1238–46) is named after the East Anglian saint, and two Norwegian bishops from the dioceses of Hamar (1315–20) and Stavanger (1355–80).[118] These names suggest a possible cult of the East Anglian saint in western Scandinavia from at least the early thirteenth century.

Codex Hardenbergianus includes several East Anglian pictorial models. A closer stylistic influence from England originates from a group of illuminators active in the first decade of the fourteenth century in East Anglia, the so-called Fenland group.[119] This group was responsible for three richly illuminated psalters produced at the Benedictine monasteries of Peterborough and Ramsay in *c.* 1300–18 and is connected to the production of three further manuscripts.[120] A stylistic resemblance may be found in the similar reclining posture of the elongated figures. Furthermore, extensive use of fleur-de-lis ornamentation in the backgrounds of initials, most often used in the East Anglian manuscript Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 9961–62 (Peterborough Brussels Psalter), is also found in Skarðsbók, which was produced at Helgafell itself (see Figure 29, above, and Figure 181).

Figure 181. 'Fleur-de-lis ornamentation', Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, MS 9961–62 (Brussels Peterborough Psalter), f. 1r. 1318. Photo: Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België, reproduced with permission.

In comparison, the provincial style of the Icelandic example gives the impression that several intermediate steps must have occurred. This is possibly linked to the fact that the production of Codex Hardenbergianus was completed a few years before Skarðsbók. Some of the images found in Codex Hardenbergianus were indeed reused subsequently at Helgafell, and it is possible that images from the Fenland group came to Helgafell then, even if they do not appear in Codex Hardenbergianus. Since other images from the same East Anglian group do appear in Codex Hardenbergianus, they may have acted as models, both for now-lost Norwegian manuscripts, and for the scriptorium at Helgafell. The general design of the lower margins in Codex Hardenbergianus relates to manuscripts of the

117 These include Berg, 'The Illuminations in No. 1154 Folio', p. 34, and Morgan, 'Dating, Style and Groupings', p. 33. For an overview of the main groups of East Anglian book painting, see *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, I, 27–30. All these richly illuminated manuscripts contain mainly Latin literature for both private and official use and are psalters, books of hours, or breviaries. The main stylistic feature distinguishing illuminated manuscripts as being of East Anglian provenance has been summarized as 'exuberant, fantastic and humorous pictorial imagery, accurate representation of details of nature in bold and arbitrarily varied scale', according to Sandler and Morgan, 'Manuscript Illumination', p. 153.

118 Kolsrud, *Den norske Kirkes*, pp. 236, 254, and 272.

119 Morgan, 'Dating, Style and Groupings', p. 36.

120 *Peterborough Psalter*, ed. by Sandler, pp. 47–63; *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, I, 27–28; II, 45–49.

Figure 182. 'Grotesque figure', Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 242 (Pabenham-Clifford Hours), f. 55v. 1310. Photo: Fitzwilliam Museum, reproduced with permission.

Figure 183. 'Grotesque figure', Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), f. 9v. 1360. Photo: Nationalbiblioteket, Oslo. Reproduced with permission.

Fenland group, as exemplified in several marginal paintings in Lavantthal, St Paul Stiftsbibliothek, MS XXV/2.19 & New York, Morgan Library and Museum, MS 302 (Ramsay Psalter).[121]

Stylistic influence from a second English group of manuscripts is also present in Codex Hardenbergianus, but is not found in any of the Helgafell manuscripts. This originates from the Tickhill Psalter group, which shares several pictorial similarities with the Fenland group. These manuscripts were illuminated by a group of artists active contemporaneously to the Fenland group and later (*c.* 1300–50). The provenance of the manuscripts related to the Tickhill Psalter is diverse and indicates that they were produced by travelling artists working for aristocrats in the Lincoln and York dioceses, as well as in Norwich.[122] Specific to the Tickhill Psalter group is the depiction of a gryllus figure with an aged, long-bearded face. The two Tickhill Psalter group manuscripts that display this image are Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 242 (Pabenham-Clifford Hours) and London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 233 (Bardolf-Vaux Psalter). Both were illuminated by closely associated book painters and date to a similar time, *c.* 1300–10.[123] Such faces appear in Codex Hardenbergianus as well (Figures 182–83), but are found neither in Belgsdalsbók, nor in any other illuminated Icelandic manuscripts.

Unfortunately, evidence that manuscripts from East Anglia were used in Bergen in the fourteenth century is sparse. Nonetheless, a canon law fragment featuring parts of Gratian's *Liber Sextus* with commentary, now at Oslo, Riksarkivet, NRA 2933 (henceforth: Oslo fragment), bears stylistic similarities to manuscripts of the Tickhill Psalter group. The fragment has been tentatively dated to *c.* 1300–50,[124] but it is rather likely that it was produced in the

121 A similar form of oak leaves with buds in GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus), together with the vaulted extension of initial letters in the East Anglian example, provides a model for the Scandinavian manuscript. More distantly, such vaulted extension of initials is also found in the Icelandic law manuscript SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók) in the lower margins. For Belgsdalsbók, see Chapter 3.

122 *The Tickhill Psalter*, ed. by Egbert, pp. 121–23.

123 *The Tickhill Psalter*, ed. by Egbert, p. 93; *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 35–36.

124 The dating of NRA 2933 has been suggested by Michael Gullick and is available at the NRA-internal database Universal Relational Database (URD).

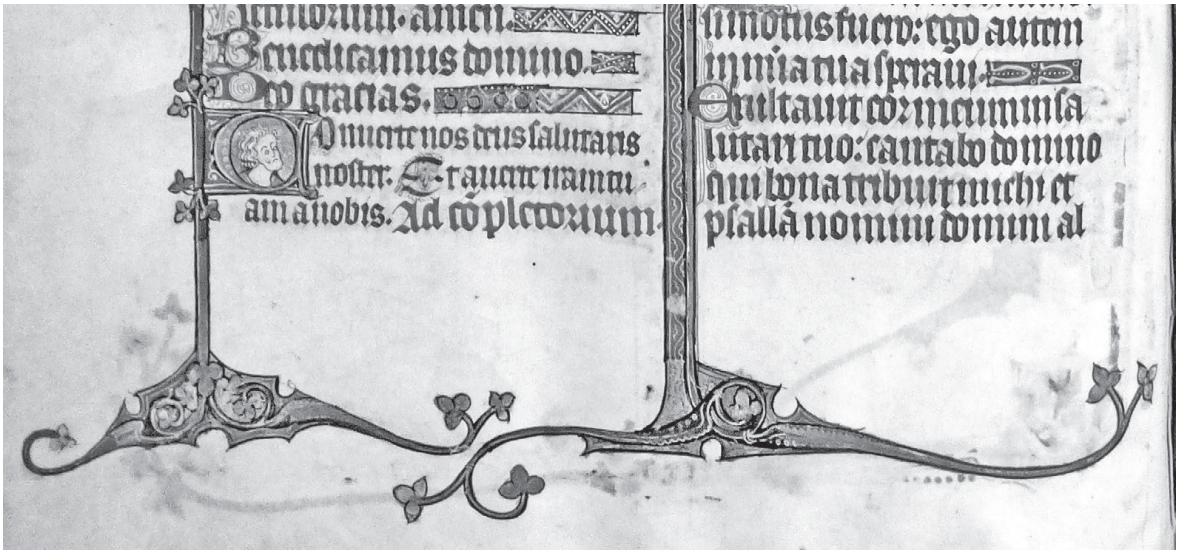

Figure 184. 'Ornamentation', Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.8.2 (Cambridge Library Psalter), f. 38rb. 1310. Photo: Cambridge University Library, reproduced with permission.

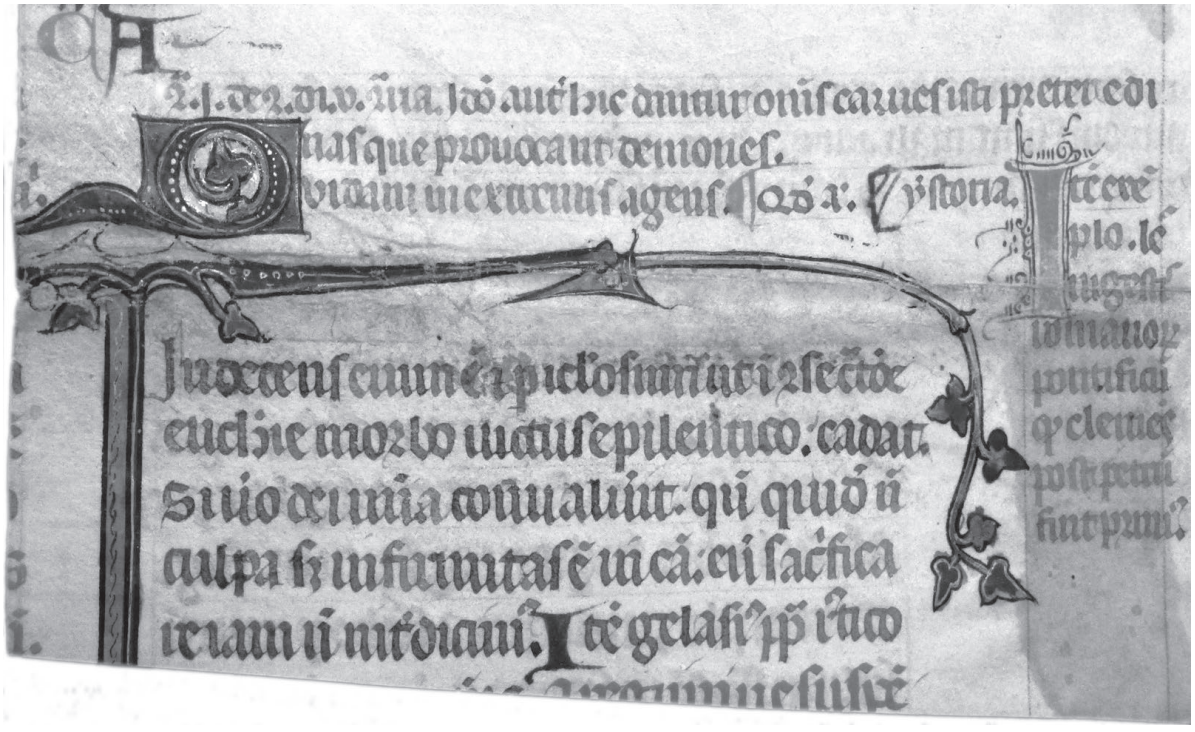

Figure 185. 'Ornamentation', Oslo, Riksarkivet, NRA 2933, f. 1r. 1310. Photo: Stefan Drechsler, reproduced with permission.

first decade of that century due to its close stylistic similarity to the East Anglian manuscript group.[125] The Oslo fragment exhibits a number of stylistic influences from northern English manuscripts, in particular from Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.8.2 (Cambridge Library Psalter), produced in *c.* 1300–10 (Figures 184–85).[126] In comparison with the manuscripts related to the Tickhill Psalter, the remaining ornamentation of the Oslo fragment indicates a similar working pattern on the basis of a similar writing style, the use of colours, and, finally, the same floral ornamentation.

125 The tax roll reference in the manuscript reveals that it was used at Nordfjord in the seventeenth century. In that century, Nordfjord was part of the Salten tax region, which itself belonged to the Trondheim diocese. However, as no remaining Latin or Old Norse fragment from the Trondheim diocese and further north is known to share a similar design with NRA 2933, it is more likely that this fragment was initially imported into Bergen and brought further north in the following centuries.

126 *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 34. Likewise important for this comparison is the Bible manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 34, which was produced at the same time as Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.8.2, in *c.* 1300–10, and possibly in the same cultural surrounding. For MS 34, see *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 31, and Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion*, pp. 15 and 49.

Figure 186. 'Prosecution and execution', Cambridge, St John's College, MS A.4 (Brewes-Norwich Commentaries), fol. 61va. 1350. Photo: St John's College, Reproduced with permission from the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge.

This style is not detectable in any of the Helgafell manuscripts. A pictorial reference to a late manuscript of the Tickhill Psalter group, Cambridge, St John's College, MS A.4 (Brewes-Norwich Commentaries), was known at Helgafell before 1360, since an iconographic model appears in Skarðsbók, which is a Helgafell manuscript. One initial in the East Anglian manuscript shows a strong structural reference to an initial in Skarðsbók, which was finished by that time.[127] It is found in a similarly structured image depicting the denunciation and killing of a thief (see Figure 38, above, and Figure 186). Little is known about how this possibly East Anglian image came into the possession of the Helgafell illuminator. Yet, the Oslo fragment provides possible Norwegian evidence for such an artistic influence on the Codex Hardenbergianus workshop in Bergen in Norway and on the scriptorium at Helgafell in Iceland.

In the early fourteenth century, due to the established (pre-Hanseatic) trade between Bergen and East Anglia in England in the thirteenth century, goods such as codfish, oil, timber, skins, and butter were exported to King's Lynn.[128] At that time, Iceland exported *vaðmal* and dried fish to (mainly) Norway.[129] It is likely that, due to the established trade and personal contacts between Bergen and Iceland, artistic influences between the two western Scandinavian workshops arose. Norway and England were in good political contact during the thirteenth century, which is exemplified by a vivid letter exchange between the Norwegian King Hákon Hákonarson (1204–63) and King Henry III of England (1207–72).[130] In addition, the ecclesiastical education of Nordic students in England and other parts of western Europe flourished during that time,[131] and (as discussed above) a large import of French Limoges art into the North also took place during the thirteenth century.

Traces of East Anglian Iconography at Þingeyrar

Artistic influences from East Anglian book painting are only loosely connected to the western Icelandic Helgafell workshop, as will be shown below. A codex stemming from the northern Icelandic Benedictine monastery at Þingeyrar shows how sketches of iconographic images from East Anglian manuscripts might have been used in medieval Iceland. It exemplifies how such a transmission of images might also have come from East Anglia to the workshop at Helgafell. One such image is found in the oldest part of SÁM, AM 673 a III 4to (Íslenska Teiknibókin), whose first production unit was illuminated at that religious house at Þingeyrar in *c.* 1330–60.[132] It has been argued that Íslenska Teiknibókin, together with the other Þingeyrar manuscripts AM 227 fol. and AM 249 e fol. (both SÁM), indicate an influence from English manuscript painting of the early fourteenth century.[133]

127 Drechsler, 'The Illuminated Þjófabálkr', pp. 24–25.

128 Childs, 'East Anglia's Trade', p. 192. Shortly before 1366, the Bergen Kontor of the Hanse was established. For short overviews of the Bergen trade, see Helle, 'Bergen's Role in the Medieval North Atlantic Trade'.

129 Helgi Þorláksson, 'Vaðmál og verðlag', pp. 337–433.

130 *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, XIX.1, ed. by Bugge, pp. 93–130.

131 See Bagge, 'Nordic Students at Foreign Universities until 1660'.

132 See Table 8, above, and *Íslenska Teiknibókin*, ed. by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, pp. 29–39.

133 Most of the previous discussion assumes that all of AM 673 a III 4to (Íslenska Teiknibókin) was illuminated as part of

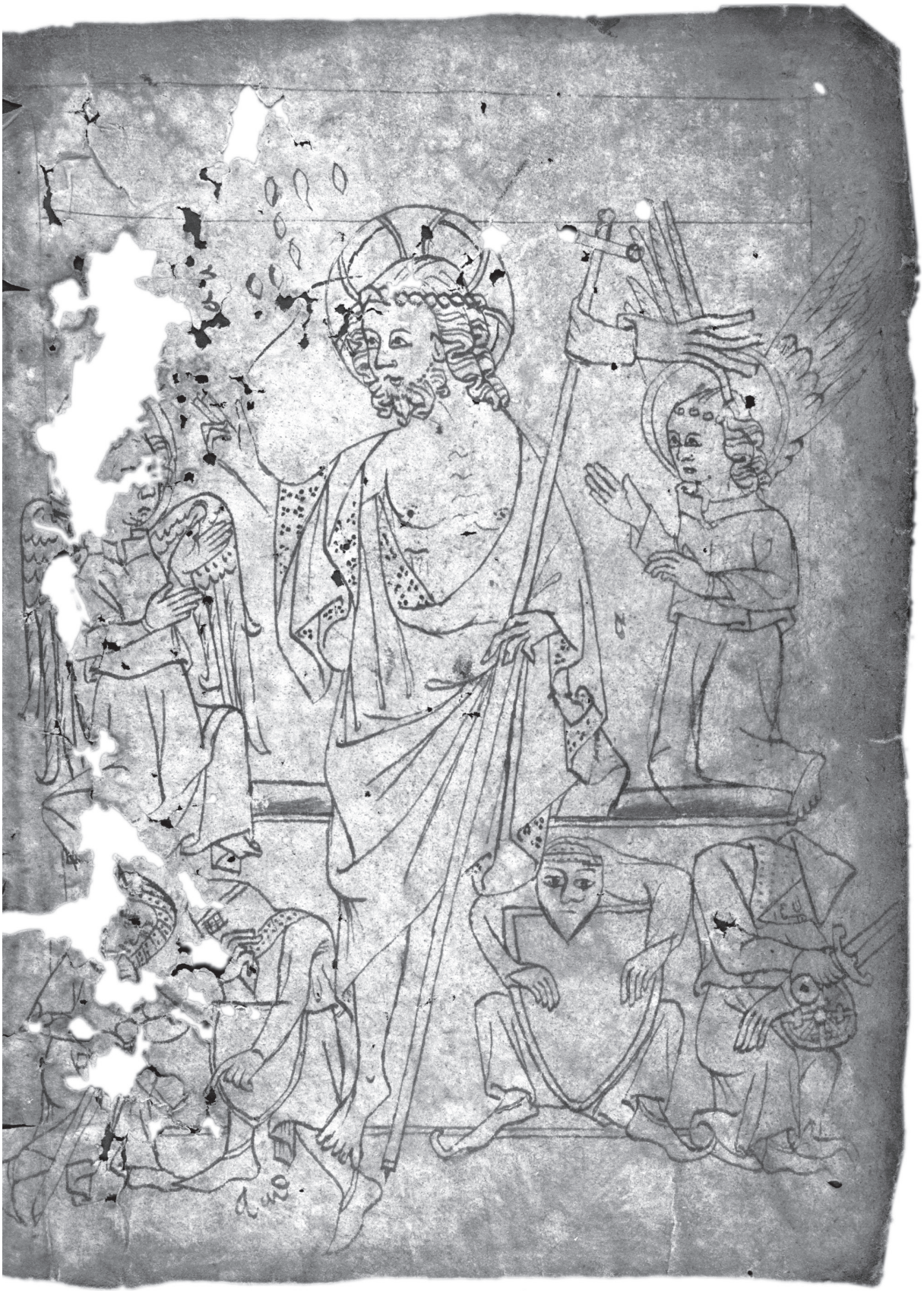

Figure 187. 'Resurrection of Christ', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 673 a III 4to (Íslenska Teiknibókin), f. 2r. 1360.

Table 45. East Anglian book painting and AM 673 a III 4to (Íslenska Teiknibókin).

Íslenska Teiknibókin (Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 673 a III 4to), ff. 1–2, ff. 5–6, ff. 9–10, and ff. 13–14 illuminated *c.* 1330–60[134]		East Anglian Manuscripts, produced *c.* 1310–45		
Folio	**Iconography**	**Manuscript and Folio**	**Date of Illumination**	**Iconography**
F. 2^{r}	Resurrection of Christ	London, British Library, MS Add. 49622 (Gorleston Psalter), f. 198va	*c.* 1310–25	Resurrection of Christ
		London, British Library, Stowe MS 12 (Stowe Breviary), f. 87^{rb}	*c.* 1323–25	

They were produced roughly at the same time as the oldest part of Íslenska Teiknibókin, in *c.* 1350 and *c.* 1300–1400[134]respectively,[135] and all are assumed to include stylistic influences from a group of manuscripts related to the aforementioned East Anglian Tickhill Psalter group. This group has been dated to *c.* 1300–10 and contain two distinctive stylistic developments.[136] The first phase constitutes influences from the London-based early fourteenth-century Queen Mary Psalter group, and the second development is strongly related to the Norwich book painting. Despite later stylistic connections to the East Anglian book painting, the Tickhill Psalter group of manuscripts was produced at various sites in Yorkshire. Donald Drew Egbert has convincingly argued that illuminators of this group produced the latest manuscript, the Brewes-Norwich Commentaries, not in Yorkshire but at Norwich, to which they travelled for work in the later part of the 1310s and subsequent decades.[137] Supporting this, earlier manuscripts of the Tickhill Psalter group share pictorial references with manuscripts from Norwich and nearby.[138] Contemporaneously with the Tickhill Psalter group, there are also other East Anglian illuminators who had some influence on western Scandinavian book painting. This is displayed in Íslenska Teiknibókin, too (Table 45).

From the oldest phase of Íslenska Teiknibókin, one image may indicate such an East Anglian origin. It is the iconography of the Resurrection of Christ (Figure 187). In comparison to similar iconographic examples from East Anglia, three initials appear to be related. As will be discussed in the following, all these images are found in manuscripts produced in or near to Norwich in *c.* 1310–25 (Figures 188–89).

In comparison with the East Anglian initials, the similar pose of Christ as indicated in the similar blessing hand of Christ and the outstretched foot together with the same form of Christ's flagged cross-stave indicate an iconographic relationship to the Íslenska Teiknibókin. Compared to the East Anglian initials, the style in the Icelandic example is somewhat reduced and differences are found, such as the direction in which Christ looks, the way the angels hold their hands, and generally the depiction of the (partly harlequin-styled) soldiers. Nevertheless, in comparison, the general arrangement appears to be more closely related to the East Anglian images than to other English examples of the same iconography. It is worth noting that some of the stylistic traits of the iconography as depicted in these three East Anglian manuscripts was probably established before they were illuminated, since it is found in an earlier East Anglian fragment, too. This psalter frag-

the oldest production unit in *c.* 1330–60. However, in light of a revised dating for the different production units recently provided in *Íslenska Teiknibókin*, ed. by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, pp. 80–165, the artistic influence of the Tickhill Psalter group proposed by Selma Jónsdóttir now appears to be misleading and in several cases untenable, since Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir's proposed dating of *c.* 1330–1500 does not coincide with the comparisons previously made by Selma Jónsdóttir in *Lýsingar í Stjórnarhandriti*, pp. 39–41. In addition, according to modern standards in art-historical research, most of these comparisons are built upon generic iconographic images with limited stylistic significance. In addition, Selma Jónsdóttir's assumption that an artistic influence from the Tickhill Psalter group found its way into Iceland directly and is not found in any Norwegian manuscripts is misleading, since a number of stylistic influences are also found in GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus). Selma Jónsdóttir's main manuscript from the Tickhill Psalter group, London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 233, does, in fact, offer a number of pictorial references to Codex Hardenbergianus. Selma Jónsdóttir's study is a response to a previous claim by Harry Fett in *Norges malerkunst*, p. 179. Harry Fett assumed that all medieval Icelandic manuscripts should be regarded as an amalgam of a now-lost Norwegian artistic hegemony, which was used to instruct the Icelandic painters. Both scholars were driven by nationalistic ideas about the origin of western Scandinavian book paintings, and this book is not intended to follow their claims. See also Johansson and Liepe, 'Text and Images', pp. 145–47.

134 See *Íslenska Teiknibókin*, ed. by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, pp. 29–39 and 73.

135 Jakobsen, *Studier i Clarus saga*, pp. 12 and 46; *Íslenzkar Ártíðaskrár*, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 171–73.

136 *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, I, 25–26.

137 *The Tickhill Psalter*, ed. by Egbert, pp. 121–23 and 222.

138 Sandler and Morgan, 'Manuscript Illumination', p. 153.

ment, DAM, AM Acc 7d V, was dated to *c.* 1300.[139] Originally, it belonged to the Benedictine Priory at Carrow in the vicinity of Norwich, until it came into the possession of Skálholt in 1538.[140]

The Influence of Norwich Book Painting at Helgafell

Iconographic influences from East Anglia that can be detected at Helgafell suggest a number of intermediary steps. Yet, some artistic references in the Helgafell codices do indicate an influence specifically from workshops situated near the medieval city of Norwich in Norfolk, England. East Anglian book painting remains one of the most important English contributions to the medieval European pictorial arts.[141] Lucy Freeman Sandler has divided East Anglian manuscripts into six subgroups, three of which show artistic influences on the Helgafell manuscripts.[142] The Helgafell-related manuscript groups from Norwich or nearby are as follows: The first and oldest group is the so-called Ormesby Psalter group, which consists of seven loosely connected illuminated manuscripts featuring various kinds of Latin literature. They were produced in *c.* 1280–1330 and were illuminated by at least five illuminators.[143] Of these manuscripts, in particular the Ormesby Psalter itself (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366) and a book of hours, the previously discussed Norwich, Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4f (Norwich Hours), display images loosely related to the Helgafell workshop. A number of stylistic influences in the figural style of the Helgafell law codex SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók) and the kings' saga manuscript SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), which were illuminated

Figure 188. 'Resurrection of Christ', London, British Library, Stowe MS 12 (Stowe Breviary), f. 87$^{rb1–8}$. 1325. Photo: British Library, reproduced with permission.

Figure 189. 'Resurrection of Christ', London, British Library, MS Add. 49622 (Gorleston Psalter), f. 198va. 1325. Photo: British Library, reproduced with permission.

139 *Katalog*, ed. by Andersen, p. 99.

140 Wormald, 'An Early Carmelite Liturgical Calendar', pp. 179–80. Despite this late acquisition, Selma Jónsdóttir in 'Enskt saltarabrot á Íslandi' and in 'History of the English Psalter' has argued that stylistic influence from a related psalter from Carrow is visible in the Þingeyrar manuscript SÁM, AM 227 fol. Her conclusion, however, cannot be correct because the image in the Carrow fragment shows a different form of the iconography and therefore cannot have been used as a model at Þingeyrar. The discussed image, as found in the later East Anglian manuscripts, was probably established in Norwich after the Carrow fragment in *c.* 1300–10. Thus, only after 1310 did it come to Þingeyrar where it was first used in *c.* 1330–60 when the oldest production unit of AM 673 a III 4to (Íslenska Teiknibókin) was illuminated.

141 For general discussions on artistic influences from fourteenth-century East Anglian book paintings on the Helgafell manuscripts, see Fett, 'Miniatyrer fra islandske haandskrifter', pp. 18–20; *Icelandic Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. by Halldór Hermannsson, pp. 16–17; and Björn Th. Björnsson, 'Pictorial Art', p. 30.

142 *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, I, 27–30.

143 *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 49–51.

Table 46. Norwich book painting, A Hel 1 (the 'Helgafell Master'), and A Hel 2.

AM 233 a fol. (Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling), ff. 1–5[r], and ff. 28–29, illuminated *c.* 1360		**East Anglian Manuscripts, illuminated in *c.* 1320–40**		
Folio	**Iconography**	**Manuscript**	**Date of Illumination**	**Iconography**
F. 1[v]	John the Baptist	London, British Library, Add. MS 42130 (Lutrell Psalter), f. 40[v]	*c.* 1340	John the Baptist
F. 5[r]	Holy Family	Norwich, Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4f (Norwich Hours), f. 53[v]	*c.* 1320	Presentation at the Temple
AM 233 a fol. (Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling), ff. 15–27, illuminated *c.* 1375		**East Anglian Manuscripts, illuminated in *c.* 1325–40**		
Folio	**Iconography**	**Manuscript**	**Date of Illumination**	**Iconography**
F. 27[r]	St Margaret	London, British Library, MS Add. 42130 (Lutrell Psalter), f. 37[r]	*c.* 1340	St Margaret
		London, British Library, Stowe MS 12 (Stowe Breviary), f. 274[v]	*c.* 1325	
AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók; Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum), illuminated *c.* 1363		**East Anglian Manuscripts, illuminated *c.* 1325–40**		
Folio	**Iconography**	**Manuscript**	**Date of Illumination**	**Iconography**
F. 2[r]	Throne of Grace	Oxford, All Souls College, MS 7 (All Souls Psalter), f. 91[r]	*c.* 1325	Christ in Majesty
F. 34[r]	Negotiation scene	London, British Library, Stowe MS 12 (Stowe Breviary), f. 125[v]	*c.* 1325	Negotiation scene
F. 55[r]	Negotiation scene	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366 (Ormesby Psalter), f. 10[r]	*c.* 1330–35	David playing harp
F. 67[v]	Ape bound to a pole	London, British Library, Add. MS 42130 (Lutrell Psalter), f. 73[r]	*c.* 1340	Ape holding a pole

by the Helgafell book painters A Hel 1 (the 'Helgafell Master') and Magnús Þórhallsson, are assumed to stem from the Norwich-produced Ormesby Psalter and from BL, MS Add. 49622 (Gorleston Psalter), which represents the second group.[144] The second group consists of three manuscripts, a bestiary and two psalters, all of which were written and illuminated in *c.* 1310–25.[145] The group is clustered around the Gorleston Psalter, which itself offers several distant iconographic influences on the Helgafell group. This psalter was produced at the same time as the Ormesby Psalter in Norwich in *c.* 1310–22.[146] Both personally and stylistically related to the Gorleston Psalter is a third group of manuscripts produced in the 1310s and 1320s, the Stowe Breviary group. This group consists of three loosely connected manuscripts, all of which were illuminated by five book painters, some of whom show similarities with the illuminators of the Gorleston Psalter and one of which even worked in both codices.[147] Finally, the first production unit of BL, MS Add. 42130 (Lutrell Psalter) has also been connected to the Stowe Breviary group.[148] In addition, the Lutrell Psalter offers a few iconographic references to the Helgafell workshop. The related production unit of the Lutrell Psalter comprises the second to the twelfth gatherings and was executed by three illuminators in *c.* 1325–30.[149]

Most of the East Anglian manuscripts presented above have been suggested to be products of workshops within Norwich itself, or of scriptoria across the surrounding counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and

144 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 177–82.
145 *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 56–60.
146 *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 56–57.
147 Sandler, 'An Early Fourteenth-Century English Psalter', pp. 65–66, with further references. It has been suggested that one of the four decorators of Add. MS 49622 (Gorleston Psalter) was also one of the main illuminators of London, British Library, Stowe MS 12 (Stowe Breviary). See McIlwain Nishimura, 'The Gorleston Psalter', pp. 26–28.
148 *The Luttrell Psalter*, ed. by Brown, pp. 23–26 and 30; *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 120.
149 Camille, *Mirror in Parchment*, pp. 323–28.

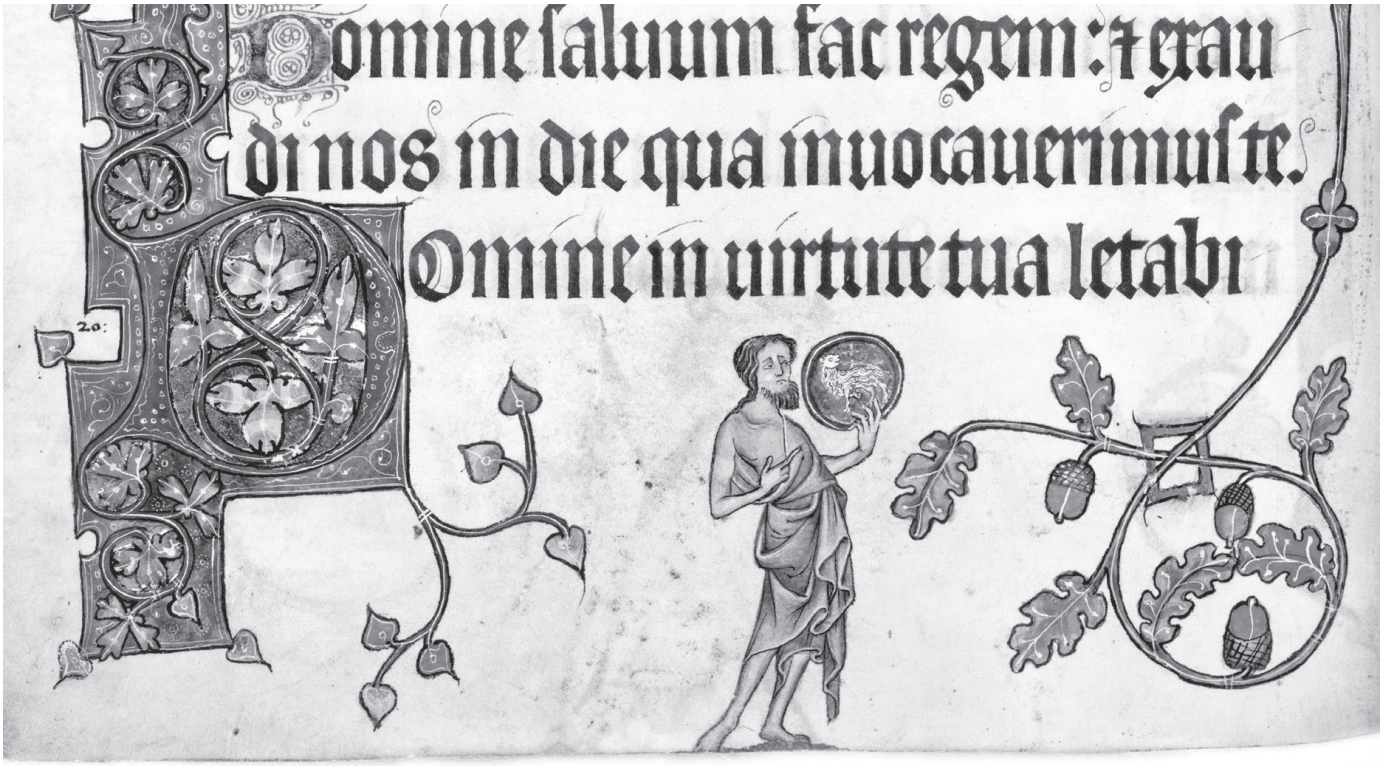

Figure 190. 'John the Baptist', London, British Library, MS Add. 42130 (Lutrell Psalter), f. 40^{v}. 1340. Photo: British Library, reproduced with permission.

Lincolnshire. With thirty-three thousand inhabitants in 1333, Norwich was the second largest city in England and had a large market for luxury goods of various kinds,[150] as well as a European-focused high clergy at the cathedral priory. The interest in European arts at Norwich was possibly channelled through a restoration of the cathedral at the same time. In 1272, a large fire destroyed large parts of the library, priory, and cathedral, and in the early fourteenth century, the priory was still in very bad shape. With the bishop at the time, John Salmon, a development in architecture, design, and fashion brought Norwich into line with the latest developments in Europe.[151] Bishop Salmon had travelled several times to other places in Europe, having first become one of the ordainers of King Edward II of England (1284–1327) and then Chancellor of England in 1319.[152] Due to the established trade between East Anglia and Bergen in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries mentioned above, it is likely that it was this artistic interest that brought East Anglian art to Bergen and western Iceland. The Helgafell codex DAM, AM 233 a fol., the first section of SÁM, AM 239 fol., and SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók) display several influences stemming from East Anglian book paintings. The images of the respective illuminators — the 'Helgafell Master' and A Hel 2 — are inspired by manuscripts illuminated in *c.* 1310–35 (Table 46).

An initial reference to East Anglian manuscripts is found on f. 1$^{vb10–17}$ in AM 233 a fol., which depicts an image of John the Baptist (see Figure 6, above, and Figure 190). In comparison, a marginal painting in the Lutrell Psalter provides an approximate model for the Icelandic image. The first production unit of the book painting in the Lutrell Psalter was done by three original illuminators. Helgafell-related images in the Lutrell Psalter are found only in the gatherings illuminated by these three artists. All worked together very closely, since they repainted pre-existing images and copied motifs from each other.[153] It is believed that the Lutrell Psalter was illuminated either at the home of the client Sir Geoffrey Lutrell (1276–1345), Lord of the Manor of Irnham in Lincolnshire, or at a nearby artistic centre, such as

150 Rutledge, 'Immigration and Population Growth', p. 22; Hull, 'The Douai Psalter and Related Manuscripts', I, 212–13.

151 Sekules, 'Bishop John Salmon's Architectural Patronage', p. 181. Contacts with the continent were not exclusive to the time of Bishop Salmon. See Harper-Bill, 'The Diocese of Norwich and the Italian Connection', for previous ecclesiastical networks between Norwich and Italy in the early decades of the thirteenth century.

152 Sekules, 'Bishop John Salmon's Architectural Patronage', pp. 181 and 197; King, 'Medieval Art in Norfolk and the Continent', pp. 92–93.

153 *The Luttrell Psalter*, ed. by Brown, pp. 22–23 and 27.

Figure 191. 'The Presentation of Christ at the Temple', Norwich, Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4f (Norwich Hours), f. 53^{v1-5}. 1320. Photo: Stefan Drechsler, reproduced with permission.

Peterborough.[154] BL, Stowe MS 12 (Stowe Breviary) originally belonged to a secular clergymen in the Norwich diocese,[155] but a similar mode of production is likely.[156] Despite the less-refined style, the general form and structure of the drapery, as well as the leaning posture of the bearded saint in the Helgafell manuscript, all suggest an influence.

The second reference in AM 233 a fol. is shown in the following initial on f. $5^{ra27-37}$. It shows an unusual depiction of the Holy Family, but ultimately derives from the iconography of the Presentation of Christ at the Temple. In comparison with East Anglian imagery, a reference is found in the previously mentioned Norwich Hours (see Figure 7, above, and Figure 191), a manuscript produced in Norwich in *c.* 1310–20 by a group of local artists loosely connected to the Ormesby Psalter group.[157] In comparison, the image in AM 233 a fol. draws on similar placements and gestures of figures. Yet, the depiction of the young Christ and the seated Virgin Mary is different and seems to come from yet another Mariological image, the iconography of the Blessed Virgin.

In addition, an initial in the slightly later AM 233 a fol. also refers to images found in the Lutrell Psalter. In AM 233 a fol., the image is found on f. $27^{rb33-37}$ and depicts St Margaret with the Devil. In comparison with an image in the Lutrell Psalter, there are some structural iconographic similarities (see Figure 135, above, and Figure 192). Unfortunately, due to the poor condition and small size of the Icelandic initial, a closer stylistic comparison is not possible. The outstretched hold of the cross and the defensive hand of the female saint suggest the use of related icono-

154 *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 120.

155 *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 87.

156 A personal link between Stowe MS 12 (Stowe Breviary) and Add. MS 42130 (Lutrell Psalter) is detected in the fact that a manuscript of the Stowe Breviary group, El Escorial, Escorial Library, MS Q.II 6 (Escorial Psalter), was commissioned by the Bardolf family in the 1320s. Lucy Freeman Sandler has convincingly argued that MS Q.II 6 was illuminated in Lincolnshire at the estate of the clients themselves. A similar approach may have been used during the early production unit of the Lutrell Psalter, and although the psalter cannot be connected to a known workshop with any certainty, stylistic and iconographic references to the Escorial Psalter indeed suggest a similar method of production. See *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 87; Sandler, 'An Early Fourteenth-Century English Psalter'; and *The Luttrell Psalter*, ed. by Brown, pp. 25 and 27.

157 Morgan, 'Art in East Anglia', p. 22; see also Michael, 'English Illuminators', p. 73. Selma Jónsdóttir, *Lýsingar í Stjórnarhandriti*, p. 37, has assumed that MS 158.926.4f (Norwich Hours) belongs to the Tickhill Psalter group previously mentioned. This was rejected by Morgan in 'Art in East Anglia', p. 22, who added the manuscript to the Ormesby Psalter group.

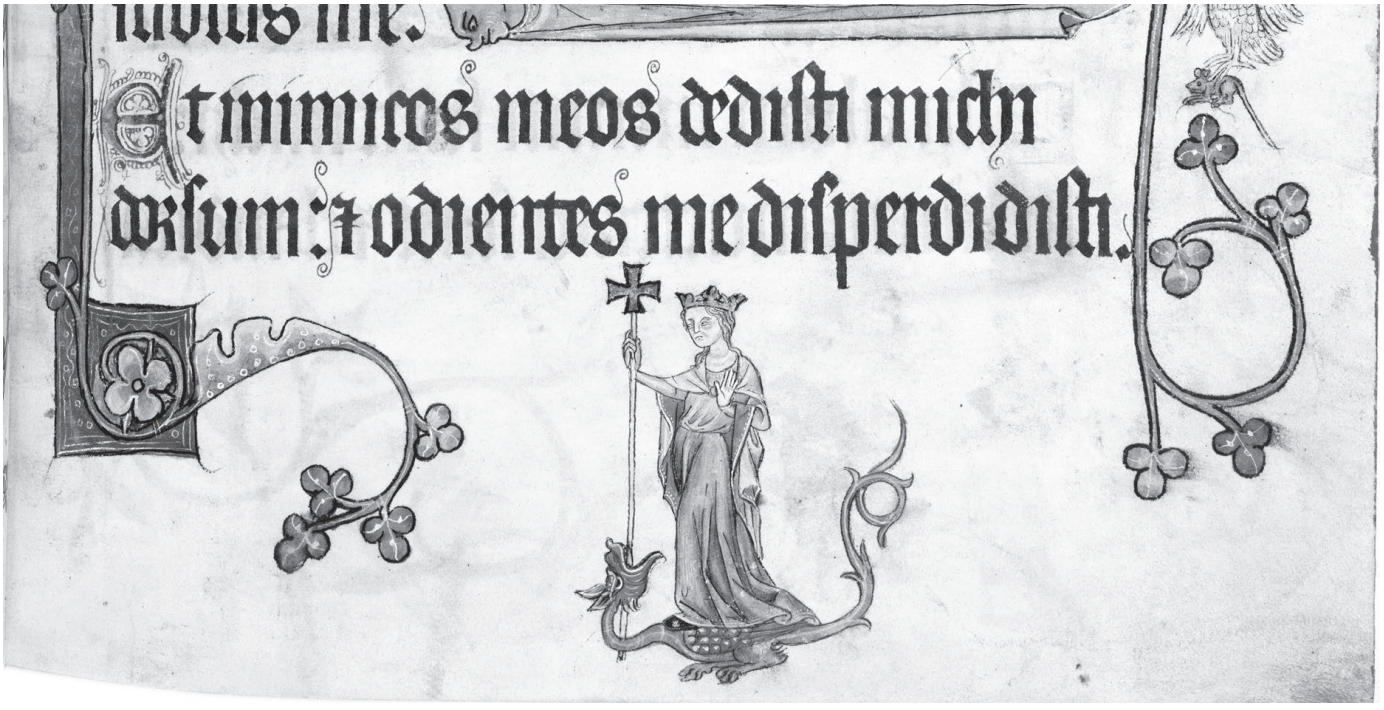

Figure 192. 'St Margaret', London, British Library, MS Add. 42130 (Lutrell Psalter), f. 37^{r}. 1340. Photo: British Library, reproduced with permission.

graphic models. Other features, such as the halo in the Icelandic image, are clearly different. The halo in the Icelandic initial resembles a painting in the Lutrell Psalter–related Stowe Breviary from *c.* 1322–25 (Figure 193). In conclusion, A Hel 2 seems to have used a number of iconographic models that were originally used by some of the illuminators of the Lutrell Psalter and the Stowe Breviary.

Skarðsbók, illuminated by the 'Helgafell Master', also provides several images that refer to East Anglian book painting. The first one is found on f. 2$^{rb17–22}$ and depicts the Throne of Grace together with an additional figure (see Figure 19, above). This image is loosely connected to an initial in Oxford, All Souls College, MS 7 (All Souls Psalter), a manuscript that was written and illuminated in *c.* 1320–30 (Figure 194).[158]

In comparison to the All Souls Psalter image, the additional figure is also found in Skarðsbók. The main initial in the Icelandic manuscript depicts the iconography of the Throne of Grace, not Christ in Majesty as in the East Anglian example. In general, the addition of a secular figure in the vicinity of the iconography of God in Majesty, as is done in the All

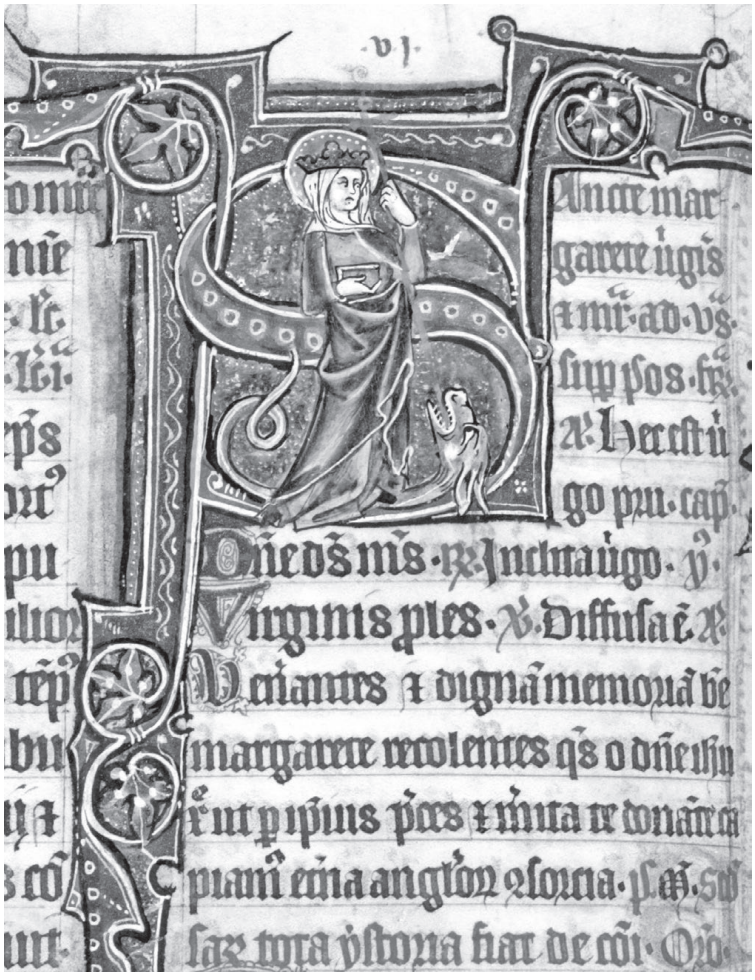

Figure 193. 'St Margaret', London, British Library, Stowe MS 12 (Stowe Breviary), f. 274$^{vb1–6}$. 1325. Photo: British Library, reproduced with permission.

158 *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 89.

Figure 194. 'Christ in Majesty with additional figure', Oxford, All Souls College, MS 7 (All Souls Psalter), f. 91$^{ra5–7}$. 1325. Photo: All Souls College, Reproduced with permission from the Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford.

Figure 195. 'Negotiation scene', London, British Library, Stowe MS 12 (Stowe Breviary), f. 125$^{vb11–16}$. 1325. Photo: British Library, reproduced with permission.

Souls Psalter, is nothing unusual.[159] Nevertheless, it is worth noting that one of the initials in the All Souls Psalter was illuminated by the second book painter of the Stowe Breviary, while the other parts of the psalter were painted by an illuminator known to have been active in the artistic circle around Walter de Milemete in the 1320s.[160] Milemete was a clerk and scholar to King Edward II and a King's Scholar at Cambridge in 1329.[161] It is worth mentioning that an art-historical theory, which argues that a stylistic influence of the manuscript production milieu around Milemete on the Helgafell workshop, has been an established idea for some time.[162] More specifically, it has been assumed that artistic influence from the illuminator responsible for the second production unit of BL, Add. MS 47680, a manuscript produced for Milemete, can be detected at Helgafell.[163] This production unit was executed by the same East Anglian illuminator who was responsible for the single initial in the All Souls Psalter, as well as parts of the Stowe Breviary. Add. MS 47680 was presented in 1327 by Milemete to King Edward II.[164] It is the only known connection between illuminators from Norwich and the English king (in London), as the addition made by the second artist of the Stowe Breviary was not completed before *c.* 1345.[165] Due to the fact that the style of this Stowe Breviary-illuminator is connected rather to Norwich than to London at the time when the Helgafell-related iconography was painted in East Anglia, a connection to the Milemete workshop can only be upheld for the single initial in the All Souls Psalter. Since this image was clearly painted when the artist from the Stowe Breviary was present,[166] it is more likely that the artistic influence came from a workshop in Norwich rather than one in London or Cambridge, since pictorial models used by the workshop(s) of Milemete do not appear at all in the Helgafell material. Well-established contacts did indeed exist between workshops in East Anglia, and artists travelled between London and East Anglia for their

159 As part of the wider Helgafell network, the law codex SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to contains a main initial on f. 1$^{va7–12}$ that shows Christ in Majesty together with an additional figure (see Figure 21, above). Unfortunately, most parts of the additional figure are too faint for detailed inspection.

160 Michael, 'Destruction, Reconstruction and Invention', pp. 72 and 90.

161 Michael, 'The Artists of Walter of Milmete Treatise', pp. 37–40.

162 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 28; Jorgensen, 'Review of Selma Jónsdóttir, *Illumination in a Manuscript of Stjórn*', p. 372.

163 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 28.

164 Michael, 'The Artists of Walter of Milmete Treatise', pp. 37–40.

165 Michael, 'Destruction, Reconstruction and Invention', p. 90.

166 Michael, 'Destruction, Reconstruction and Invention', p. 72.

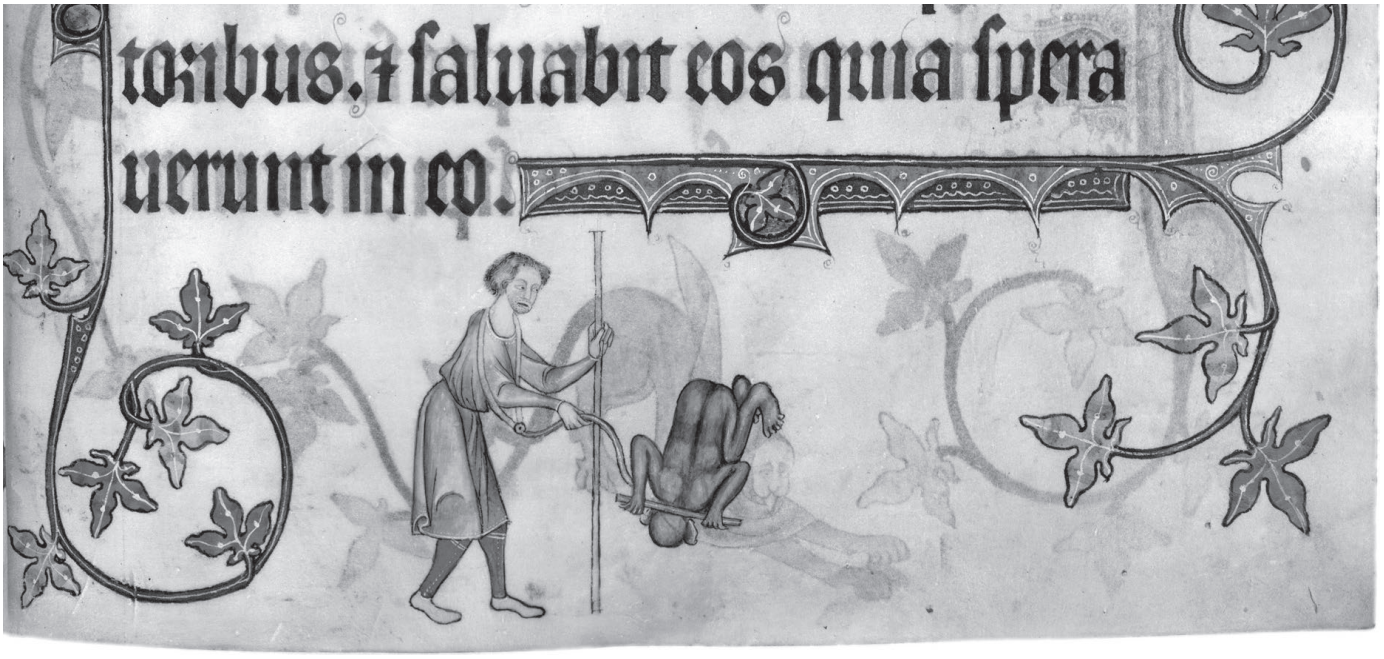

Figure 196. 'Ape holding a pole', London, British Library, MS Add. 42130 (Lutrell Psalter), f. 73^{r}. 1340. Photo: British Library, reproduced with permission.

commissions in the early fourteenth century.[167] It might be that the illuminator responsible for most of the All Souls Psalter travelled to Norwich from London for a secular client, who possibly appears in the image discussed. London constituted a professional urban production centre for manuscripts at that time, and soon after, in 1350, the number illuminator guilds started to increase around the city along with numerous cooperating workshops.[168]

The next image in Skarðsbók offers a relationship to the Stowe Breviary.[169] It is found on f. 34$^{ra4–11}$ as part of a negotiation scene (see Figure 29, above, and Figure 195). The Icelandic and the East Anglian image share a similar placing of figures within the initial. Despite the similarity in the elderly man seated on the left, his gestures differ in the two examples, and the prominent chair in the East Anglian one is omitted in Skarðsbók. Consequently, despite the up-to-date clothing fashion depicted in the Icelandic codex and the adaptation of East Anglian fleur-de-lis ornamentation (see Figure 181, above) discussed above, there was little interest at the Helgafell workshop to also make use of new depictions of furniture that may have been part of the iconographic model used for the initial in Skarðsbók.

Similar to AM 233 a fol., Skarðsbók also contains one image that refers to the oldest production unit of the Lutrell Psalter. It is found in the lower margin of f. 67^{v} and shows an ape bound to poles (see Figure 38, above). A similar arrangement is clearly depicted in a marginal painting in the Lutrell Psalter (Figure 196), although in the East Anglian illumination the image is unrelated to the text.[170] However, many other examples of text–image relationships exist in the Lutrell Psalter, indicating knowledge of the text on the part of all illuminators who contributed to the oldest production unit.[171] In Skarðsbók, the image refers closely to parts of the *Þjófabálkr* section of *Jónsbók*, and this reveals that the illuminator paid attention to the text rather than the sequence of illustrations in their model.[172]

Artistic influences from East Anglia not only stemmed from the circle of illuminators around the Stowe Breviary. Also a group of book painters from Norwich itself, responsible for the Ormesby Psalter, seem to have had an artistic impact on the iconographic repertoire of the 'Helgafell Master', as exemplified in the similarity of depictions of pointy shoes and crossed legs in the Ormesby Psalter and

167 Michael, 'Destruction, Reconstruction and Invention', p. 92.
168 Kwakkel, 'Commercial Organization and Economic Innovation', pp. 175 and 181.
169 A further suggestion was raised by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir in 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 28, namely that stylistic influences from the figural paintings in the East Anglian Gorleston Psalter are present in the illuminations in AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók). However, no further details are mentioned on the matter.
170 *The Luttrell Psalter*, ed. by Brown, p. 38.
171 Sandler, 'The Word in the Text'.
172 Drechsler, 'Zur Ikonographie der AM 350 fol.', pp. 93–96.

abit in consilio impiorū
peccatorum non steti
pestilentie non sedit
lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte
tamquam lignum
fructum suū dabit in tempore suo

Figure 197. 'Figural style', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366 (Ormesby Psalter), f. 10r1–14. 1325. Photo: Bodleian Library, reproduced with permission.

Skarðsbók (see Figure 33, above, and Figure 197).[173] In the Ormesby Psalter, this initial was painted in the last production unit of the manuscript, by the so-called 'St Omer Master', in *c.* 1330–35.[174] In principal, the manuscript underwent three distinctive stages during the period *c.* 1280–1330:[175] Written entirely by a single scribe, and on ff. 10–45 illuminated with line-fillers by an otherwise unknown book painter, the Ormesby Psalter was initially produced for an unknown patron in Norwich, since the calendar mentions dates specific to the Cathedral Priory of Norwich.[176] In the 1310s–1320s, the unfinished psalter was adapted for a couple, who are depicted in a full-page miniature of a Tree of Jesse, painted by the so-called 'Jesse Master'. At the same time, the 'Ormesby Master' also worked on the Ormesby Psalter and added most historiated initials. The provenance of this second production unit was still orientated towards Norwich, since a litany specific to the Cathedral Priory was added at that time.[177] Only some ten years later, the 'St Omer Master', mentioned above, contributed several illuminations to the codex.[178] It is this final contribution that finds stylistic resemblances in the Icelandic Skarðsbók.

In conclusion, a stylistic relationship between the Ormesby Psalter, a number of Stowe Breviary–related manuscripts, A Hel 2, and the 'Helgafell Master' seems to have come about via a series of intermediary steps. This is indicated in the more simplistic style of the illuminations done by the Icelandic illuminators in comparison to the relevant East Anglian images.[179] Accordingly, East Anglian influence may be considered the outcome of an extended period of copying and did not arise from shared models. Comparing A Hel 2 and the 'Helgafell Master', the 'Helgafell Master' undoubtedly received a much more advanced training than all other illuminators from Helgafell. This is clearly seen in the clothing of the figures in Skarðsbók. In English book illuminations from *c.* 1330–40, younger figures are depicted wearing relatively close-fitting, red tunics with sometimes voluminous drapery in red or white.[180] In addition, the lush forms of the draperies in Skarðsbók are paralleled in a similar way by the bulky shapes of the long hairstyles of younger figures. This distinguishes the younger figures from the older ones, who are depicted with bald heads and long beards. Furthermore, the younger figures are often painted in an elegant pose sitting cross-legged and wearing pointed black shoes. This influence could perhaps be linked to a popular style found in several of the previously presented early fourteenth-century East Anglian manuscripts.[181] In addition, the larger variety of East Anglian images used by the 'Helgafell Master' in Skarðsbók suggests that he had access

173 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 181.
174 *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 50.
175 The production history of the MS Douce 366 (Ormesby Psalter) is complex. See Law-Turner, *The Ormesby Psalter*, pp. 15–100.
176 *The Gorleston Psalter*, ed. by Cockerell, p. 8.
177 *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 50.
178 The 'St Omer Master' designates the fourth and final illuminator of MS Douce 366 (Ormesby Psalter). His work is found in the third production unit of the codex and was carried out in *c.* 1330–35, some ten years after the second production unit. The 'St Omer Master' added a main initial to Psalm 1 (*Beatus vir*), as well as two further kneeling figures to the lower margin of the Tree of Jesse on the previous leaf.
179 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 182.
180 Loschek, *Reclams Mode- und Kostümlexikon*, p. 28.
181 Björn Th. Björnsson, 'Pictorial Art', p. 34; Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 26–27.

Table 47. Norwich book painting and Magnús Þórhallsson.

AM 226 fol. (Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling), illuminated in *c.* 1370		**East Anglian Manuscripts, illuminated in *c.* 1320**		
Folio	**Iconography**	**Manuscript**	**Date of Illumination**	**Iconography**
F. 70ra	God and Joshua	Norwich, Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4f (Norwich Hours), f. 165^{v}	*c.* 1320	The Last Judgement
		Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366 (Ormesby Psalter), f. 23^{v}		
GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók; Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum), illuminated in *c.* 1387–94		**East Anglian Manuscripts, illuminated in *c.* 1320–40**		
Folio	**Iconography**	**Manuscript**	**Date of Illumination**	**Iconography**
F. 5^{v}, f. 79^{r}	*Ornamentation*	Norwich, Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4f (Norwich Hours), f. 165^{v}	*c.* 1320	*Ornamentation*
F. 9^{v}	*Ornamentation*	London, British Library, MS Add. 49622 (Gorleston Psalter), f. 8^{r}	*c.* 1325	
F. 76^{r}	Haraldr hárfagri Hálfdanarson and Hálfdanr svarti	London, British Library, Stowe MS 12 (Stowe Breviary), f. 180^{r}	*c.* 1325	King and Fool
F. 79^{r}	Martyrdom of Óláfr helgi Haraldsson	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366 (Ormesby Psalter), f. 71^{v}	*c.* 1320	Doeg killing the priests of Nob
	Óláfr helgi Haraldsson and a Boar	London, British Library, MS Add. 49622 (Gorleston Psalter), f. 191^{v}	*c.* 1325	*Ornamentation*
	Óláfr helgi Haraldsson and a Mermaid	London, British Library, MS Add. 42130 (Lutrell Psalter), f. 70^{v}	*c.* 1340	*Ornamentation*
F. 164^{r}	Hákon Hákonarson and Jarl Skúli	Norwich, Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4f (Norwich Hours), f. 13^{v}	*c.* 1320	Coronation of Christ

Figure 198. 'Last Judgement', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366 (Ormesby Psalter), f. 23$^{v6–7}$. 1325. Photo: Bodleian Library, reproduced with permission.

to more advanced images than all other illuminators from Helgafell.

The Helgafell illuminator Magnús Þórhallsson also made use of images that derive from the same East Anglian manuscript groups. However, the iconographic influence of East Anglian imagery on his book painting is even more distant than the influences discussed with regards to the 'Helgafell Master' and A Hel 2. Their connections are given in Table 47.

The oldest illuminations are found in DAM, AM 226 fol., which Magnús painted in *c.* 1370. On f. 70$^{ra1–8}$, the awakening of Joshua is shown. It loosely refers to a model used in East Anglia for the iconography of the Awakening of the Dead at Judgement Day. The iconographically related East Anglian images are found in the Ormesby Psalter and in the Norwich Hours (see Figure 61, above, and Figures 198–99). Of the two references from Norwich, the slightly earlier image in the Norwich Hours shares the greatest numbers of traits with the initial in AM 226 fol., such as the supine figure on the left and the seated God above. But also a number of differences are found. Most importantly, this is shown in the different posture of the Salvator Mundi. In AM 226 fol.,

Figure 199. 'Last Judgement', Norwich, Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4f (Norwich Hours), f. 165$^{v12–15}$. 1320. Photo: Stefan Drechsler, reproduced with permission.

the image depicts God rather than Christ, a difference caused by adherence to textual model. Thus, the close text–image reference of the Icelandic initial is most likely the reason for the alternative depiction of the divine figure. This also holds true for the different headgear of the figure below.

Some twenty years after AM 226 fol. was finished, Magnús started to write the second section and to illuminate the whole of the kings' saga manuscript SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), as discussed in Chapter 3. As with AM 226 fol., Magnús made use of iconographic models that stem from the cultural surroundings of the Ormesby Psalter. This use of pictures is found in the iconography of the death of King Óláfr *helgi* Haraldsson (995–1030) in Flateyjarbók (see Figure 53, above), which refers distantly to a main initial in the Ormesby Psalter, depicting Doeg killing the priests of Nob (Figure 200).[182] While drawing on similar martyrological images known from earlier Scandinavian religious arts from Trondheim (Nidaros Restaureringsarbeider, RA 324, Trondheim Altar Frontal) and other parts of Norway (Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, Nr 10357, Portable Altar of King Christian IV) from *c.* 1300 or slightly later,[183] Magnús not only had a detailed knowledge of the text describing the scene, but might also have drawn on an iconographic model from East Anglia. The similarity is purely structural in nature: there is a similar set of figures, the main assaults by the attackers focus on the ribcage of the saint, and the two images convey a similar passiveness on the part of the martyr's supporters.[184] In addition, Magnús made use of a number of images known from the Stowe Breviary group. An example is found in the Stowe Breviary itself, depicting the 'King and fool'

182 Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', pp. 265–74.

183 Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', pp. 264–70. For the datings of RA 324 and Nr 10357, see Morgan, 'Dating, Style and Groupings', p. 33; Mackeprang, 'Det saakaldte Christian I.s Rejsealtar', p. 93; see also Lerseth, 'Olavsiden på Christian 1.s reisealtar', pp. 78–79, with further references.

184 Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', p. 274.

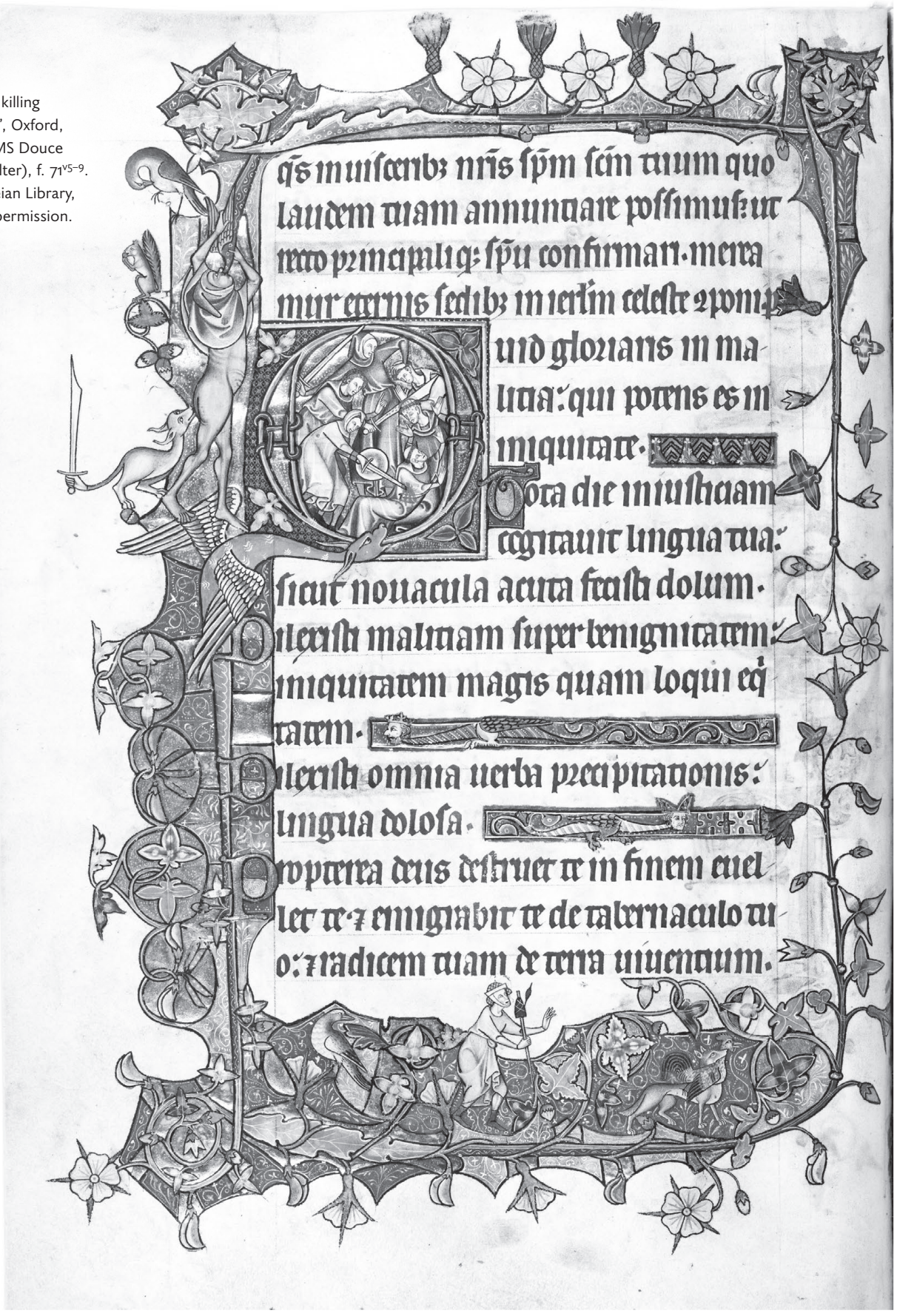

Figure 200. 'Doeg killing the priests of Nob', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366 (Ormesby Psalter), f. 71^{v5-9}. 1325. Photo: Bodleian Library, reproduced with permission.

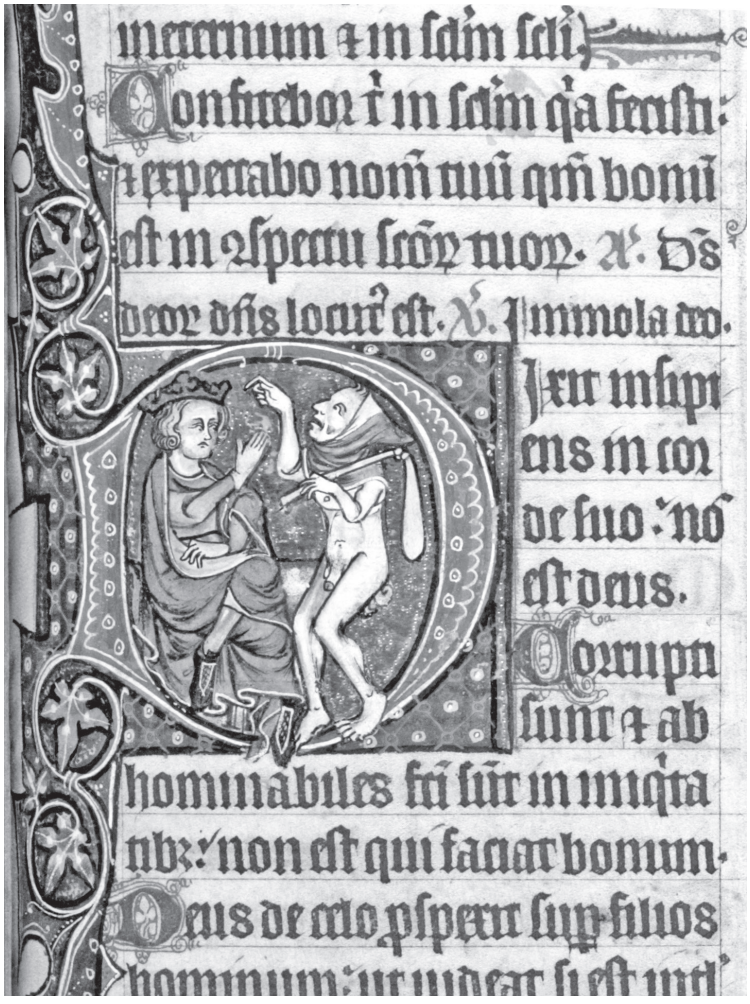

Figure 201. 'King and fool', London, British Library, Stowe MS 12 (Stowe Breviary), f. 180$^{ra13–18}$. 1325. Photo: British Library, reproduced with permission.

Figure 202. 'Haraldr *hárfagri* Hálfdanarson and Hálfdanr *svarti*', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), f. 76$^{ra11–18}$. 1387–94. Picture from https://handrit.is.

(Figure 201). Magnús possibly drew on an image related to the one from the Stowe Breviary while illuminating Flateyjarbók (Figure 202).[185] This is shown in the similar structural setting of the two figures and in the similar position and gesture of the king. The styles of the two paintings vary, and Magnús again freely altered the content and structure of the image to provide a better fit between text and image.[186]

Finally, the Gorleston Psalter is also related to the book painting of Flateyjarbók. In comparison to the close image–image relationships between Flateyjarbók and the Ormesby Psalter, however, the adaptation of motifs from the Gorleston Psalter is more distant and suggests a looser artistic connection. An example is the depiction of a gryllus-figure fighting a boar with a sword and hitting the animal on its nose, which is shown dripping blood (Figure 203). In the lower margin of f. 79^{r} in Flateyjarbók, the scene is painted in accordance with parts of the text, where King Óláfr *helgi* Haraldsson is described as fighting a supernatural boar (see Figure 53, above).[187] Next to this scene in the margin in Flateyjarbók, a fight between the saint and a mermaid is shown, but there is no iconographic model for this in the Gorleston Psalter. However, a distantly related depiction of a mermaid is found in the Lutrell Psalter (Figure 204). The comparison only extends to the tailfin of the mermaid (without the floret), since the other parts of the figure in Flateyjarbók are again more closely related to the vernacular text than to the distant East Anglian iconographic model.

Finally, as regards the Gorleston Psalter, a further artistic influence concerns a marginal scene in Flateyjarbók depicting a naked man. A similar image

185 Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', pp. 256–57.

186 Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', p. 257.

187 Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', p. 263.

Figure 203. 'Marginalia', London, British Library, MS Add. 49622 (Gorleston Psalter), f. 191v. 1325. Photo: British Library, reproduced with permission.

Figure 204. 'Marginalia', London, British Library, MS Add. 42130 (Lutrell Psalter), f. 70v. 1340. Photo: British Library, reproduced with permission.

is found in the Gorleston Psalter, but was originally imported into East Anglia from an earlier Italian/Bolognese source (Figures 205 and 207).[188] Both the similar action of the naked man, blowing into a horn, and the fact that the two images are not text-related suggest a loosely related artistic influence from East Anglia to Iceland.

It is worth also mentioning that the foliage style, which Magnús uses in the margins of f. 5v in Flateyjarbók, is unusual for medieval book painting in Iceland.[189] He might have known comparable foliage styles from the Norwich Hours, since in one instance the East Anglian manuscript displays a similar form of ornamentation (see Figure 73 and Figure 199, above). Thus, a related use of rolled acanthus leaves, a similar interplay between a bird sitting on the bush and a four-legged animal on the right, as

188 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 181; Pächt, 'A Giottesque Episode'.

189 Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', pp. 240–41.

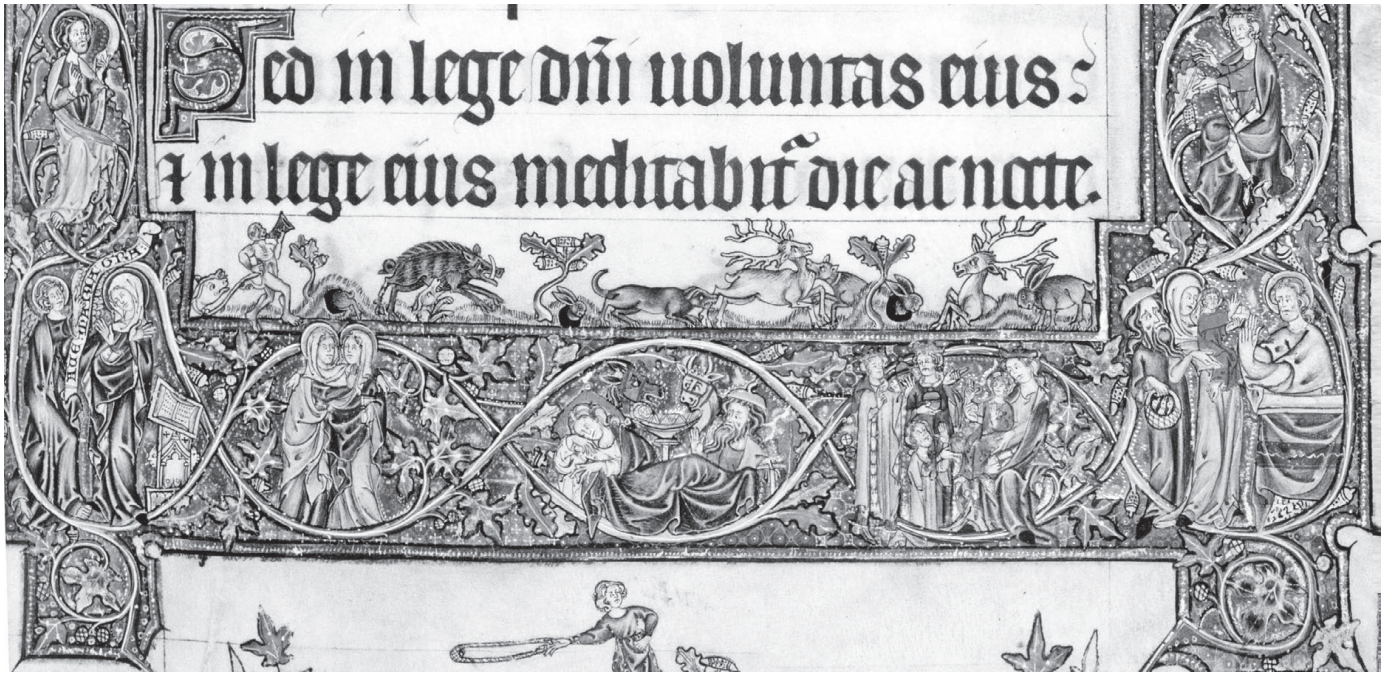

Figure 205. 'Marginalia', London, British Library, MS Add. 49622 (Gorleston Psalter), f. 8r. 1325. Photo: British Library, reproduced with permission.

well as the simple-lined basis in the lower part of the margin, all indicate that Magnús was familiar with a form of Gothic ornamentation from Norwich. This in turn could indicate knowledge of a further stylistic feature known from virtually all East Anglian manuscripts of the early fourteenth century,[190] namely an animal or male human profile head sprouting a foliate sprig (Figure 206), which is also found on the previously discussed f. 9v in Flateyjarbók (see Figure 207). Despite obvious structural differences, the topos of the Icelandic image most likely stems from an East Anglian origin, since this is especially specific for this region and time period. Overall, the marginalia scenes in Flateyjarbók provide good examples of how medieval Icelandic illuminators combined different iconographic sources.[191]

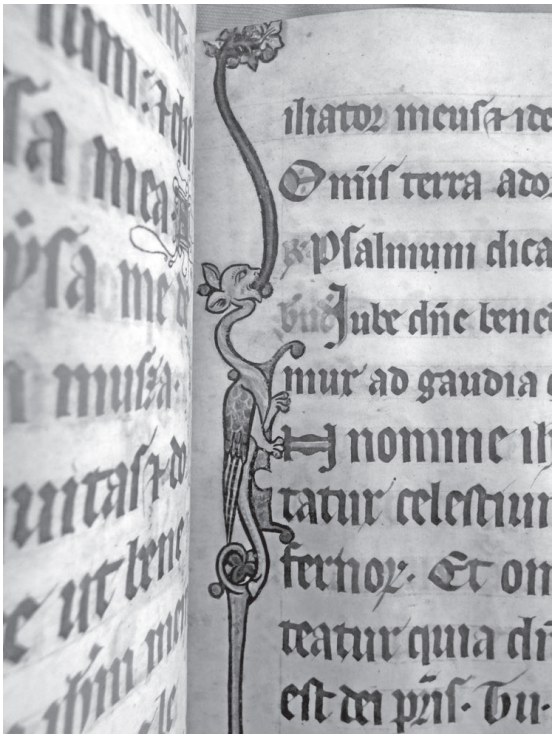

Figure 206. 'Marginalia', Norwich, Castle Museum, MS 158.926.4f (Norwich Hours), f. 11r. 1320. Photo: Stefan Drechsler, reproduced with permission.

In conclusion, Magnús had similar access to East Anglian models as did the 'Helgafell Master' and A Hel 2. Even though most of the discussed imagery in the Norwich manuscripts relates little to the texts they initiate, Magnús changed versions of the images so that they accorded with the texts he was illumi-

190 Randall, 'Sense and Sensibilities', p. 223.

191 Elizabeth Ashman Rowe has suggested in *The Development of Flateyjarbók*, p. 375, that the pictorial scene of the animal eating leaves from a bush shows the fable of 'The Fox and the Grapes' by the Greek fabulist and storyteller Aesop. The story was indeed known in fourteenth-century Iceland as it is mentioned in the prologue of the vernacular *Adóníass saga*. Nevertheless, I have expressed my doubts in Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', pp. 232–33, that the fable is what is depicted here, since there is no allusion to it in the text. Even so, if the animal and the tree do refer to the fable, then the fable itself would not have been the model for the illumination. No such iconographic model is known until the late fifteenth century.

Figure 207. 'Marginalia', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), f. 9v. 1387–94. Picture from https://handrit.is.

nating, and thereby gave some of them individual pictures unmatched in any other pictorial source of the Middle Ages. As with the use of images by the 'Helgafell Master' and A Hel 2, Magnús also seems to have used a number of images that are only loosely related to the East Anglian manuscripts. In particular, the reduced style and content of the Icelandic images suggests that he made use of models that were circulating in Iceland at the time when he was illuminating AM 226 fol. and, some twenty years later, Flateyjarbók.

England and Western Iceland in the Fourteenth Century

As the analysis carried out above has shown, the examples provided in support of an East Anglian influence on the Helgafell manuscripts are mostly models drawn from Christian iconography and marginal imagery, which belonged to the standard repertoire of medieval book painters. Such images are usually transmitted via model books and written instructions for illuminators known from the eleventh century onwards.[192] Unfortunately, no such model book from East Anglia survives today.[193] The widespread use of similar images in psalters, books of hours, and breviaries in the early fourteenth century is evidence for the use of model books in East Anglia. These model books did not remain at a single site but were carried around by the illuminators themselves and shared between Norwich and other artistic centres in England.[194] Often, these networks are indicated in the adaptation and reuse of styles from craftsmen also known from other workshops, which at the same time encompass different forms of medieval art, such as wall and panel paintings, stained glass, embroidery works, architectural mouldings, and ecclesiastical furniture.[195] Few of the East Anglian styles relate to the Helgafell manuscripts directly. Furthermore, the evidence of illuminated manuscripts imported from East Anglia into Iceland is scarce, possibly because the majority of Latin literature was either destroyed during the Reformation or ignored by Árni Magnússon when the vernacular manuscripts and fragments were gathered in Iceland in the late seventeenth century. Nevertheless, due to the indirect pictorial references to Norwich manuscripts that exist in the Helgafell manuscript group, it seems likely that such iconographic patterns did not come to Helgafell as complete manuscripts in the first place, but rather in the form of model books.

The Icelandic codices follow a provincial style, which little reflects the grandeur of works from East Anglia. Moreover, the mise-en-page differs between the Icelandic and East Anglian manuscripts: while wild, turbulent scenes in the margins of these manuscripts are a true hallmark of East Anglian art in the early fourteenth century, there is little resemblance to this in the Helgafell manuscripts. Rather, the Helgafell book painters appear to follow older traditions, most clearly present in the continued use of Romanesque ornamentation. Yet, new developments in the figural arts at Helgafell and the search for iconographic images suitable for previously unilluminated vernacular literature are innovative traits that are not affected by this conservatism. They suggest that new impulses came to Iceland around the middle of the fourteenth century when the earliest of the Helgafell manuscripts were illuminated, and when a first, tentative use of the Gothic-styled *fleuronnée* ornamentation appears. Some of these impulses seem to stem from East Anglian workshops active in the first three decades of the fourteenth century. Little information about such workshops exists, and only a few names of illuminators are known from East Anglia and from Norwich in particular. In addition, none of them are clearly connected to one or several of the illuminated manuscripts discussed.[196] The manuscripts most closely related to a monastic house in East Anglia are the Ormesby and Gorleston Psalters. The calendars of these manuscripts are of Sarum use, specifically for the cathedral priory; they also share artistic similarities with wall paintings and other ecclesiastical art produced for the cloister and church of Norwich Cathedral, as well as other nearby institutions.[197] The Obedientiary Rolls of Norwich Cathedral, written in 1272–1317, mention orders for a significant number of books. Such rolls usually record payments for scribes (in this case some of these scribes are directly related to consecutive cathedral priors),[198] but in two instances

192 Avril, *La Technique de l'enluminare*, pp. 14–28. See also Aliferis, 'The Models of the Illuminators in the Early Gothic Period'.

193 There is only one model book known from medieval England (Cambridge, Magdalene College, MS 1916). It was illuminated in or near to London in *c.* 1375–1400. On stylistic terms, the sketchbook has been connected to the so-called Holkham Picture Bible (London, British Library, Add. MS 47682) from *c.* 1330, which belongs to manuscripts produced in London. See Scheller, *Exemplum*, p. 201 and p. 8, and *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 107.

194 Michael, 'Oxford, Cambridge and London'; Michael, 'Destruction, Reconstruction and Invention'.

195 Sandler and Morgan, 'Manuscript Illumination', p. 156.

196 Michael, 'English Illuminators', pp. 73–74, 84, 85, and 87.

197 Hull, 'The Douai Psalter and Related Manuscripts', I, 271; Law-Turner, *The Ormesby Psalter*, pp. 50–54.

198 *A Short Calendar of Deeds*, I, ed. by Rye, p. 12; *A Short Calendar of Deeds*, II, ed. by Rye, 106.

they refer to local families of illuminators. Such references are usually to cathedral-external works, which were ordered by the local aristocracy.[199] Mainly due to the lack of evidence of a production centre of manuscripts at the cathedral, works such as the Ormesby and Gorleston Psalters were donated to rather than purchased by the priory.[200] They thus came into the possession of the cathedral only after they had initially been commissioned by an external client, since the cathedral itself seems to have had little interest in book paintings:

> There is little evidence that extensive illumination was commissioned by the Cathedral Priory and even less that such work was carried out by the monks themselves. The surviving books which were once in the possession of this foundation prove, however, that such richly decorated books did indeed exist in Norwich at this time. The heraldic evidence in the books themselves indicates that they were often commissioned by the local gentry and aristocratic families of East Anglia; inscriptions entered into surviving Norwich Cathedral Priory books show that most books, finely decorated or not, entered the Cathedral Priory's collections as gifts and bequests.[201]

The limited interest in book paintings is best exemplified by manuscripts made in their final stages by the main illuminator of the Ormesby Psalter, as these were all made for monastic use and contain only a very limited use of marginal imagery.[202] Grotesque depictions in the margins of East Anglian manuscripts are indeed present mainly in works such as the Ormesby Psalter: works that were initially commissioned by secular clients, who in turn have themselves depicted with their heraldic shields in the margins of the commissioned illuminated manuscripts. In particular, heraldic shields and depictions of the clients in the margins serve as good indications of who the clients of the unknown workshops were. Such external aristocrats are known in a few instances. For the East Anglian manuscripts, it has been argued that one of the main commissioners must have been John de Warenne (1286–1347), seventh Earl of Surrey. John was one of the most powerful barons and key political figures in England during the reign of King Edward II and a major landholder in East Anglia, Surrey, and Sussex. John commissioned the Gorleston Psalter, Ormesby Psalter, and also the slightly later Macclesfield Psalter (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 1–2005) for various political occasions.[203] Apart from de Warenne's heraldry, a further pictorial reference to his patronage, as well as to his family seal, is found in the Ormesby Psalter and the Gorleston Psalter, both of which provide loose pictorial links to the Helgafell manuscripts. These two East Anglian manuscripts show an unusually large number of rabbits, many located down warrens, a depiction which suggests a visual pun on de Warenne's family name (see Figure 205, above).[204] The use of rabbits was also well known to the 'Helgafell Master' in the early 1360s, at the time when Skarðsbók was illuminated (see Figure 35, above). Exclusively depicted in the margins, the rabbits' actions are not related to the topics of the historiated major initials, and they might therefore relate instead to a general aristocratic topic, which emerges in the three de Warenne manuscripts. Rabbits were considered a luxury good at the time,[205] and the ownership of them became an aristocratic privilege. Their popularity was probably further increased by popular beliefs about the animal's promiscuity, which in connection to the hunting scenes mentioned above may be seen as an allusion to sexual pursuit.[206] This rhetorical tradition goes a long way back to St Augustine's *Confessions*, which used such a hunt as a metaphor for retrieving memories.[207]

Despite the lack of warrens and rabbits in Iceland, famous topics such as hunting and rabbits at play in various guises are depicted in Skarðsbók in large numbers, which suggests an influence from East Anglia. Rabbits were not bred in Iceland until the early seventeenth century, but were obviously known earlier, and they were probably used to depict a similar aristocratic representation as what we see in the manuscripts commissioned by de Warenne. They also relate, after all, to theological thoughts mentioned above, which may have been an important factor for the illuminators at the Augustinian house of canons regular at Helgafell. Other manuscripts from the same scriptorium show no references to this aristocratic topic. This might reflect a similar

199 The lack of clear references to monastic illuminators and workshops in medieval England is discussed by Doyle, 'Book Production', and Dennison, 'Monastic or Secular?'.

200 Hull, 'The Douai Psalter and Related Manuscripts', I, 295.

201 Hull, 'The Douai Psalter and Related Manuscripts', I, 319–20.

202 Morgan, 'Art in East Anglia', pp. 20–22; Law-Turner, 'Beasts, Benedictines and the Ormesby Master', p. 9.

203 McIlwain Nishimura and Nishimura, 'Rabbits, Warrens, and Warenne', pp. 211–13; *The Macclesfield Psalter*, ed. by Panayotova, pp. 44–50; Law-Turner, *The Ormesby Psalter*, pp. 38–45.

204 *The Macclesfield Psalter*, ed. by Panayotova, p. 46; McIlwain Nishimura and Nishimura, 'Rabbits, Warrens, and Warenne', p. 206.

205 Bailey, 'The Rabbit and the Medieval East Anglian Economy', p. 20.

206 *The Macclesfield Psalter*, ed. by Panayotova, p. 46.

207 *The Macclesfield Psalter*, ed. by Panayotova, p. 47.

Figure 208. 'Figural style', London, British Museum, 1922.0412.1.CR (Tring Tiles). 1330. Photo: British Museum. Reproduced with permission from the Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International License (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).

situation as the monastic Ormesby Psalter group of manuscripts, which include far more text-related illuminations than the (initially) aristocratically commissioned Ormesby Psalter. Furthermore, Skarðsbók, as a product tailormade for an external client in western Iceland,[208] differs from the standards of East Anglian manuscripts ordered by the aristocracy, since no heraldic shields or other personalized elements are found in the book painting or text of the Icelandic manuscript. As discussed, a donor portrait in Skarðsbók, which refers specifically to a donation from Ormr Snorrason, a local *lǫgmaðr* and *hirðmaðr* at Skarð á Skarðströnd, to his own church at the same estate, is less likely.[209] For such an assumption to be reasonably held, the actual design of the main initial and the historical evidence is too sparse.[210] Moreover, other portraits of clients in manuscript illuminations are either unknown or disputable.[211] This explains why an artistic activity comparable to that of Norwich, where major clients of the illuminators were known members of the highest English aristocracy, is found less often at Helgafell. Two clients who collaborated directly with Helgafell are suggested: Ormr Snorrason, who may have ordered the saints' saga manuscript SÁM, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), a manuscript that does not feature marginal drawings or contents in the main initials suggestive of any particular secular interest; and Jón Hákonarson from Víðidalstunga in northern Iceland, who ordered the kings' saga codex SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók)), which displays an interest not only in a wide variety of religious subjects, as seen through its iconography, but also in secular content, as depicted in the margins and with limited connection to the text, similar to the East Anglian examples.

This leads to the conclusion that most of those images at Helgafell and Bergen that were adapted from East Anglian pictorial sources draw almost exclusively on Christian iconography, and only partly on secular images, which is indeed what would be expected at ecclesiastical houses. In addition, the very strong reflection of the texts in the iconography shows that an excellent knowledge of the texts is necessary to fully understand the images. The clearly reduced selection of marginal imagery also suggests that most of them seem to have been produced for ecclesiastical use only. This is not only reflected in the Helgafell manuscripts from Iceland, which contain little marginal imagery, but also in the two vernacular law manuscripts from Norway, Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket, Mh 15 (Lundarbók), and

208 Drechsler, 'Zur Ikonographie der AM 350 fol.', pp. 103–05.
209 Selma Jónsdóttir, 'Gjafamynd í íslenzku handriti', p. 14.
210 Drechsler, 'Zur Ikonographie der AM 350 fol.', p. 103.
211 Drechsler, 'Zur Ikonographie der AM 350 fol.', pp. 102–03; Drechsler, 'Ikonographie und Text-Bild-Beziehungen', pp. 226–27.

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus). As with the manuscripts possibly commissioned by the clergy at Norwich, they were both most likely made for the local ecclesiastical clients in Bergen. This therefore explains their few marginal illuminations.

Finally, the *Helgafellsstíllinn* features long, slightly backwards-leaning figures clothed in simple tunics, with small 'peppercorn eyes', which appear in manuscripts illuminated by all three major illuminators from Helgafell (A Hel 1 (the 'Helgafell Master'), A Hel 2, and, to some degree, Magnús Þórhallsson), as well as minor illuminators such as the one responsible for Codex Scardensis and the book painters responsible for Svalbarðsbók and Belgsdalsbók. A related stylistic expression may be found in several manuscripts from East Anglia, namely, a round-painted head with curly hair, worn by a slender, long-legged, often backwards-leaning, figure clad in a long tunic, sometimes tied around the waist with a strap, sometimes elaborately extending to the ground in drapery. As for the figural style of the Helgafell manuscripts, an influence stemming from an independent East Anglian group of craftsmen responsible for ceramic works is likely; it stems from London, British Museum, 1922.0412.1.CR (Tring Tiles), which are eight tiles dated to *c.* 1330.[212] These include two kinds of figures: one group of smaller figures, depicted with round heads and slim bodies, and a second group of rather bulky, large-headed figures (Figure 208). Of these two groups, only the first seems to share stylistic references with western Icelandic book painting in the second part of the fourteenth century. In comparison to illuminations found in AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis) (both SÁM), and DAM, AM 233 a fol., manuscripts or even ceramic works related to the Tring Tiles seem to have constituted a model for these Helgafell manuscripts (see Figure 98, Figure 122, and Figure 133, above). In the *Vilchinsmáldagi* from 1397, it is mentioned that Helgafell did indeed possess several glass items, and it is not unlikely that these were also imported. Unfortunately, nothing is known about how they came to be there.

English Artistic Trade with Bergen (and Helgafell)

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the most important artistic influences on the workshops in Bergen and Helgafell seem to have come from England. This is attested also in the large number of Norwegian altar frontals, which were produced in the late thirteenth century and show strong stylistic influences from England.[213] The established trade between Bergen and England, as well as personal contacts between Bergen and Iceland, appear to be the best explanations for the artistic influences on the two western Scandinavian workshops concerned. In the thirteenth century, Bergen, the later established Hanse Kontor of western Scandinavia, established trade with (mainly) King's Lynn in East Anglia. In the early fourteenth century, goods such as codfish, oil, timber, skins, and butter were exported from Norway to King's Lynn by twenty to twenty-eight ships per year.[214] The East Anglian port, on the other hand, exported mainly wool, grain, ale, and foreign goods.[215] At that time, Iceland exported mainly *vaðmal* and dried fish.[216]

Unfortunately, nothing is known about direct personal contacts or any exportation of artistic goods from England to Scandinavia during that period. But the trading of art existed between Iceland, Norway, and East Anglia as early as 1200. Scandinavian cultural influences spread mainly from the East Anglian cities of Yarmouth and Norwich in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In particular, the cult of Norwegian King Óláfr *helgi* Haraldsson (995–1030) is known from such areas, which were previously occupied by Vikings.[217] Most notable (and famous) is a miniature on f. 42^{r} in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.34 (Carrow Psalter), written and illuminated in the Benedictine Priory of Norwich in *c.* 1250–60.[218] The Carrow Priory was possibly in direct contact with Iceland in the thirteenth century, since a fragment of a psalter related to MS W.34 was exported to Iceland shortly after it was finished.[219] Possibly

212 Alexander and Binski, *Age of Chivalry*, pp. 283–84; see also Verdi, *Saved!*, p. 102. The style of 1922.0412.1.CR (Tring Tiles) is closely connected in style and content to the illuminations found in the first part of a slightly earlier manuscript from East Anglia, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden Supra 38, from *c.* 1315–25. Selden Supra 38 is divided into two parts, the first containing the *Gesta infantiae Salvatoris* on ff. 1–36, which is illuminated entirely by a single craftsman and written by a single scribe. The second part, an Apocalypse text on ff. 37–129, was written by a second scribe at the same time, and possibly illuminated by another book painter. For the purpose of the present investigation, only the first part is of interest. Comparatively speaking, the Tring Tiles seem to share more of the stylistic features with some of the Helgafell manuscripts. For Seldon Supra 38, see *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 62–63.

213 Morgan, 'Dating, Style and Groupings', pp. 20–26.

214 Childs, 'East Anglia's Trade', p. 192.

215 Carus-Wilson, 'The Medieval Trade of the Ports'.

216 Helgi Þorláksson, 'Vaðmál og verðlag', pp. 337–433.

217 King, 'Medieval Art in Norfolk and the Continent', p. 89.

218 *Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1190–1250*, ed. by Morgan, II, 88.

219 Selma Jónsdóttir, 'Heilagur Nikulás í Árnasafni', p. 265.

the most obvious English–Icelandic trade connection in the Middle Ages is manifested in Reykjavík, Þjóðminjasafn Íslands, Þjms 6028 (Hólar pallium), dated to *c*. 1200.[220] The pallium is an early example of the *Opus Anglicanum* group of textiles, which was produced between 1200 and *c*. 1600 in East Anglia and the Greater London area.[221] The Hólar pallium depicts the two domestic saints and bishops Jón Ǫgmundarson (1052–1121) and Þórlákr Þórhallsson (1133–93) at the lower ends, both accompanied by their names. The work suggests that knowledge of the two Icelandic saints must have existed at the English workshop and this in turn proves that a cultural exchange existed at around 1200. A distant knowledge of Icelandic saints in England is also found in the second version of the Icelandic *Jarteinabók Þorláks byskups ins yngri*, originally written in the late thirteenth century and only extant in a late fourteenth-century fragment from Helgafell, SÁM, AM 383 IV 4to. In the text, it is said that a man named Auðunn made a statue of St Þorlákr Þórhallsson and gave it to a church in King's Lynn.[222] The first part of *Jarteinabók Þorláks byskups* was written at about the same time as a letter by King Henry III (1207–72) of England from 23 August 1224, which officially opened the English trade with Iceland, and it might well be that Auðunn was an Icelandic merchant travelling to East Anglia.[223] Finally, it is known that the famous English cleric, scribe, and painter Matthew Paris (1200–59) was sent to Norway in 1248 by King Louis IX of France (1214–70).[224] The artistic impact of Matthew Paris on the domestic arts in Norway is disputed, but there is consensus that at least one artefact, the Fåberg St Peter tabernacle wing, now at Oslo, Universitets Oldsakssamlingen, Nr 3006, was painted by him.[225] In the fourteenth century, trade between England and Iceland was almost exclusively conducted via Norway, due to a ban, introduced in 1294, on German merchants trading directly with all areas north of Bergen, which probably also included Iceland.[226] By that time, Bergen had become an important market for all of the tributary lands of the Norwegian Crown, which included not only Iceland, but also the Faroe Islands, Orkney, and Norse Greenland. This might also have included artistic products, which were imported into Iceland by clerical and secular clients alike. Workshops in Bergen had some connection with the Icelandic aristocracy. An example of this is found in the only Norwegian altar frontal known from outside of Norway, Reykjavík, Þjóðminjasafn Íslands, Þjms 6430, which was exported to the northern Icelandic Augustinian monastery at Möðruvellir before 1318.[227]

Norwegian–Icelandic trade was common in the 1250s, even though the Icelandic economy was much more self-sufficient at this time than in later decades.[228] Apart from the previously mentioned trade of dried fish and *vaðmal*, the famous Icelandic gyrfalcon trade with the Norwegian (and other) royalty and aristocracy might also have provided further contact with the German trade, as Emperor Friedrich II (1194–1250) is known to have been particularly fond of the Icelandic birds of prey.[229] Any direct contact with German book painters in the thirteenth century is unknown. In Iceland, an import of goods was mostly in the interest of bishops and chieftains due to their lifestyle and included mainly furniture for larger church buildings.[230] It is known that the two Icelandic dioceses partially owned ships used for trade. As for Bishop Lárentíus of Hólar (1323–30), it is known that 'átti Hólastaðr optast nokkut i þeim skipum, sem kómu til Íslands' (the diocese always owned some of the goods that came to Iceland).[231] In Skálhólt, Bishop Jón Halldórsson (1322–39) owned a ship together with the bishop of Bergen, Hákon Erlingsson (1332–42) in 1338.[232] Yet,

220 Elsa E. Guðjónsson, 'Biskupsskrúði Guðmundar góða?', p. 52.

221 The *Opus Anglicanum* is commonly described as a corpus of fine needlework made in England for secular and ecclesiastical use. Despite the fact that many such works are mentioned in medieval inventories all over Europe, few examples have survived. Their vast number, however, suggests an ongoing exportation of these textiles, which include inter alia ecclesiastical garments, hangings, and embroidered book bindings. Artists responsible for the *Opus Anglicanum* are suggested to have worked closely together with illuminators in England and to have shared model books with them, too. For this, see Michael, 'The Artistic Context of Opus Anglicanum', pp. 64–74. See also Rickert, *Painting in Britain*, p. 153.

222 *Biskupa sögur*, ed. by Jón Sigurðsson and Guðbrandur Vigfússon, I, pp. xlix–l.

223 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, I, ed. by Jón Sigurðsson, pp. 481–82.

224 See Weiler, 'Matthew Paris in Norway'.

225 Binski and Sauerberg, 'Matthew Paris in Norway', with further references.

226 Helgi Þorláksson, 'King and Commerce', p. 154. For a brief critical appraisal of the Norwegian monopoly in the northern Atlantic trade, see Boulhosa, *Icelanders and the Kings of Norway*, pp. 132–33.

227 Morgan, 'Dating, Style and Groupings', p. 33; see also Stang, *Paintings, Patronage and Popular Piety*, pp. 191–92.

228 Magerøy, *Soga om austmenn*, pp. 60–85.

229 Behmann, 'Norwegen und das Reich', pp. 43–44, with further references.

230 Helgi Þorláksson, 'King and Commerce', p. 150.

231 See *Biskupa sögur*, ed. by Jón Sigurðsson and Guðbrandur Vigfússon, II, p. 848.

232 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, II, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 724–25; Björn Þorsteinsson, 'Þættir úr verzlunarsögu', p. 41. The connection of Bishop Jón Halldórsson to the arts has been discussed to some extent in *Íslenska Teiknibókin*, ed. by Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, p. 36.

the involvement of Bishop Jón on the domestic arts remains conjecture.[233] Nonetheless, since virtually all trade and personal contact between Iceland and East Anglia was during the whole of the fourteenth century conducted via Bergen, it can be deduced that the Norwegian town must have had a strong impact on Icelandic book painting as an intermediary and not just as an art centre in its own right. Unfortunately, little is known about art production in Bergen in the fourteenth century and very little of the locally done book painting from that time has survived. All the same, the cultural importance of the Bergen workshops on the Icelandic clergy, and secular society, remained the same in the second part of the fourteenth century as in previous decades. It is very likely that the English images used for the Codex Hardenbergianus and at Helgafell were brought by travelling English book painters to Bergen and integrated into local artistic conventions. This would explain why, for example, the ornamentation of the smaller initials in Codex Hardenbergianus relates to both Gothic and Romanesque ornamentation, while the historiated major initials show novel influences from abroad. In this respect, the idea of 'moving artists' established by art historian M. A. Michael appears to be a very suitable description of this artistic activity.[234] Accordingly, if a certain freedom of movement of these illuminators between several scriptoria may be accepted, also an international influence and trend of styles and iconographic images may be appreciated.[235]

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus) is a likely example of such a practice. It was not only written by an Icelandic scribe working abroad, but also exhibits influences from earlier East Anglian artists connected to the Fenland and Tickhill Psalter groups, as well as from images used for the slightly earlier SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók) from the Helgafell network. It is unlikely that English illuminators were directly involved in the production of Codex Hardenbergianus, since the style of the book painting is too distant to suggest that the manuscript was an English production made in Norway. It could well be the case that book painters from England travelled to Bergen via King's Lynn and instructed local illuminators in current trends from East Anglia. As for the two English manuscript groups presented above, this appears to be true for the Tickhill Psalter group, whose members were secular artists who travelled around Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and Norfolk in search of local aristocratic clients,[236] and for the wider Stowe Breviary group, which includes manuscripts that were possibly produced at the estates of the clients.[237] It might well be that some of these artists travelled to Bergen to work for local clients in the decades leading up to the Black Death. Oslo, Riksarkivet, NRA 2933 (Oslo fragment) is the only potentially direct evidence for such a cultural contact between Norway and these groups. But the use of pictorial models, together with some stylistic influences, seems to be evidence for such a contact. Thus, even if East Anglian products in Bergen are unknown to us today, their echoes are seen in Codex Hardenbergianus — and in some of the Helgafell manuscripts. The similar iconographic images found in both Belgsdalsbók and Codex Hardenbergianus were first used in Belgsdalsbók in Iceland, since they predate the Norwegian manuscript. In Bergen and at Helgafell, they were (re)used by local craftsmen, and incorporated into local iconographic circles, as can be seen in the law manuscripts Belgsdalsbók, Codex Hardenbergianus, SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók), and the kings' saga codex SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók). In addition, SÁM, AM 673 a III 4to (Íslenska Teiknibókin) from Þingeyrar also includes an iconographic image known from the same East Anglian groups.

It is worth pointing out that, in *Gottskálksannáll*, it is mentioned on 13 September 1348 that 'k*om* skip af Nor*egi* j B*r*eidafi*r*di hia Helga felli kross mes*so* u*m* haust*it*' (a ship from Norway arrived at Helgafell by Breiðafjörður).[238] It is the only example where a reference between the monastery and a ship from Norway is given, and the close link between the writing processes of Belgsdalsbók and Codex Hardenbergianus suggests that the scribe of the

233 As Lena Liepe in *Studies*, p. 130, has correctly mentioned, the previously made assumption that Bishop Jón Halldórsson had a scribe and book painter called Þórarinn *penturr* (the painter) Eiríksson in his service cannot be based on factual evidence, as Þórarinn is only mentioned by name on 14 June 1338 in a context linking him to Jón Halldórsson by the bishop of Bergen, Hákon Erlingsson (1332–42). By that time, Bishop Jón had returned to Bergen only to die a year later and thus had no contact with Helgafell and other ecclesiastical scriptoria in Iceland anymore. For Þórarinn *penturr* and Jón Halldórsson, see *Diplomatarium Norwegicum*, VII.1, ed. by Unger and Huitfeldt, pp. 170–71; *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, II, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 723–24; *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, pp. 349 and 399; Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, 'Biskupsstóll í Skálhólti', p. 37. See also Drechsler, 'Jón Halldórsson and Law Manuscripts'.

234 Michael, 'Oxford, Cambridge and London'; Michael, 'Destruction, Reconstruction and Invention'. See also Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 133–38.

235 Michael, 'Destruction, Reconstruction and Invention', p. 86.

236 *The Tickhill Psalter*, ed. by Egbert, pp. 121–23.

237 *Gothic Manuscripts, 1285–1385*, ed. by Sandler, II, 120.

238 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 354.

two manuscripts might have left for Norway either in the same year or early in the next. This is in line with the dating of the two manuscripts.[239] No reference to how the scribe returned to Iceland in 1360 is found in any of the Icelandic annals. Nevertheless, the pictorial and stylistic influences of the artistic scene around the Codex Hardenbergianus clearly show that an impact on the wider Helgafell workshop did occur in 1360/63, when the law manuscripts SÁM, AM 168 a 4to and Skarðsbók were written and illuminated. Both share loosely related images with Codex Hardenbergianus and the Årdal I altar frontal, as well as with manuscripts of the East Anglian Fenland and Tickhill Psalter groups. Thus, with the arrival of the Codex Hardenbergianus scribe H Hel 8 at Helgafell in 1360, images that were used in Bergen in *c.* 1325–60 were incorporated into the book painting at Helgafell and used in the following decade. A distant reference to this artistic influence might also be indicated in two *máldagar* from Helgafell, dated to 1377/78 and 1397, in which an altar frontal is mentioned.[240] This is the earliest mention of an altar frontal at Helgafell and possibly refers to an import from Bergen prior to the Black Death. Due to the pictorial and stylistic references between Skarðsbók, DAM, AM 226 fol. and the altar frontal Bergen, Universitetsmuseet — Historisk Museum, MA 128 (Årdal I), it could well be that this altar frontal originated from the same artistic surroundings as Codex Hardenbergianus. Unfortunately, no parts of it survived the Reformation. Also unclear is the question as to how images from the Stowe Breviary–related manuscripts and from the Ormesby and Gorleston Psalters (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366, and BL, MS Add. 49622) came to Helgafell. The closer stylistic influence in Íslenska Teiknibókin from Þingeyrar could point towards an influence on the Helgafell manuscripts that originally came from northern Iceland.

Only a few iconographic concurrences are found in the manuscripts produced by these two Icelandic scriptoria. This appears to be the case both for the iconographic programme of texts such as the law code *Jónsbók* and the translations of parts of the Old Testament called *Stjórn* and for single images, such as the iconography of the Throne of Grace in Skarðsbók, as well as in the single psalter fragment from Þingeyrar (Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Cod. Ps. 24, Fr 28003). Contact between Bergen and Helgafell existed, and the scribe of Codex Hardenbergianus was not the only scribe who travelled to Norway after the Black Death. H Hel 1, the main hand of Helgafell, also may have travelled to Bergen in *c.* 1370 to contribute to MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34. A third example is the first scribe of Flateyjarbók, whose hand dominates the part of the manuscript that was written in *c.* 1387–88.[241] This is the priest Jón Þórðarson who travelled to Bergen in 1388 to serve at the parish church of the town, before returning to northern Iceland six years later according to the annals written by Magnús Þórhallsson in Flateyjarbók.[242] It is likely, although unverifiable, that Jón Þórðarson was active as a scribe while in Bergen.

In conclusion, Helgafell seems to have had good contact with Bergen in the decades following the Black Death, and a number of clerics from Helgafell worked for local clients in Bergen to fill the positions of recently deceased scribes, who probably succumbed to the Black Death. Through such channels, not only Norwegian, but also East Anglian art came to the scriptorium of the three main illuminators at Helgafell (A Hel 1 (the 'Helgafell Master'), A Hel 2, and Magnús Þórhallsson). This material was subsequently used to give the various kinds of vernacular literature of fourteenth-century Iceland newly created visual meanings. These channels were almost exclusively ecclesiastical, as little of the secular imagery of the East Anglian manuscripts is reflected in the Norwegian and Icelandic manuscripts. It is not surprising that Skarðsbók and Flateyjarbók in particular show the most secular influences, since both were commissioned by secular clients.[243] Apart from a slightly altered use of the marginal spaces, the similar employment of distantly related East Anglian imagery as in other illuminated manuscripts from Helgafell suggests that they were produced in a similar setting and at a similar time.

239 Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande'.

240 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 328; *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 170.

241 Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'The Speed of the Scribes', pp. 217–18.

242 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 412.

243 Drechsler, 'Zur Ikonographie der AM 350 fol.', p. 103.

CHAPTER 5

Back at Western Icelandic Scribal Desks

It remains unclear just how manuscript production developed at Helgafell in the second half of the fourteenth century, since there is no archaeological evidence to indicate the existence of a scriptorium at that time. Indeed, even the theory that the monastery followed the Augustinian canons regular of St Victor since its relocation to Helgafell in 1184 is not supported in the surviving manuscripts,[1] either in their texts or their historiated book painting.[2] Thus, despite the educational nature of the texts and images that most of the composite manuscripts such as AM 226 fol. or AM 233 a fol. (both DAM) certainly feature, an identification signifying Helgafell as a monastery that once followed the canons regular of St Victor is absent from the remaining manuscripts and fragments. Two church cartularies from 1377/78 and 1397 provide evidence for a period of economic growth during the time that most of the manuscripts were produced;[3] little other explicit information is available to connect the monastery with manuscript production. In the manuscripts themselves, only a single illumination in AM 226 fol. refers to the making of parchment, as it depicts the killing of a sheep (see Figure 70, above), but no textual reference to this painting is found. In addition, no information survives regarding the extent to which the monastery exchanged goods with local farmers for the animal skins necessary for manuscript production.[4] In connection with a sale of land made by the local magnate Snorri Andrésson to the Augustinian house in 1360, it is mentioned that the seller received a codex named *Kolbrún as part of the purchase.[5] Snorri was active as a bookbinder in the 1330s,[6] and since he became a *próventumaðr* at Helgafell some fifteen years later,[7] he might well have carried out the same profession at the convent until his death in 1382. Unfortunately, almost all the medieval bindings of Icelandic manuscripts are lost today,[8] and any possible contribution made by Snorri to the book production at Helgafell is no longer verifiable. Furthermore, no marginal notes are to be found in internal Helgafell manuscripts that indicate the training of scribes. Also, no medieval shelf marks in the codices from the Augustinian monastery suggest an internal library catalogue. At the same time, the absence of ink rulings in the Helgafell manuscripts and fragments and an often similar mise-en-page, in contrast to, for example, the external law manuscripts SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók) and SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), suggest similar production modes for most of the Helgafell codices.

Although little information on the circumstances of production can be deduced from the design of the manuscripts alone, the increase of manuscript production needs to be seen in the context of the economic growth of the monastery in *c.* 1350–1400 and the possible export of fish from the local area.[9] Such economic activity seems to have triggered the interest in interacting with other scriptoria in the vicinity of the Augustinian house, since a number of fragments and manuscripts have been linked to internal codices from Helgafell on the basis of palaeographic and art-historical similarities, as indicated in Tables 2 and 3. Only two of these fragments and manuscripts are textually related to internal codices from Helgafell: the fragments AM 325 XI 2 0 4to & AM 325 XI 2 p 4to (both DAM), written in *c.* 1350–1400,[10]

1 For the theory, see Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, pp. 57–58, and Gunnar Harðarson, 'Viktorklaustrið', pp. 138–42.

2 For example, the two illuminations in DAM, AM 226 fol. and AM 225 fol. depicting Noah building the ark barely follow any related descriptions by the important theologian Hugh of St Victor. For these writings in relation to medieval book painting, see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, pp. 274–337.

3 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, II, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 115–16; *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 325–29.

4 A suggestion mentioned by Sigurður Nordal in 'Time and Vellum' that medieval Icelandic manuscripts were produced due to a natural surplus of sheep in medieval Iceland is doubtful. Helgafell's *Gottskálksannáll*, for example, mentions a number of famines during the fourteenth century. For this, see *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, pp. 342, 345, and 352.

5 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 12.

6 *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. xl–xli.

7 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 364.

8 Bonde and Springborg, 'Wooden Bindings and Tree-Rings', p. 10; Springborg, 'Types of Bindings', pp. 133–34.

9 Árni Daníel Júlíusson, *Jarðeignir kirkjunnar 1000–1550*, pp. 44–45; Sverrir Jakobsson, 'Frá Helgafellsklaustri til Stapaumboðs', p. 94.

10 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21; *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 965.

contains a version of *Óláfs saga helga* that is closely related to the kings' saga codex DAM, AM 61 fol.,[11] which was written by the scribe H Hel 2 in the second half of the fourteenth century. The same saga version also appears in the slightly later kings' saga manuscript SÁM, GKS 1008 fol. (Tómasskinna) from *c.* 1400.[12] Yet another fragment written by the same scribe as Tómasskinna,[13] DAM, AM 240 VI fol. from *c.* 1400, includes parts of the saints' story *Maríu saga*, but that version of the saga is unrelated to the redaction found in manuscript AM 233 a fol. from Helgafell.[14] Thus, despite the indeterminate dating of the fragments AM 325 XI 2 0 4to & AM 325 XI 2 p 4to and Tómasskinna, their textual content indicates that at least the scribes of these manuscripts borrowed texts from Helgafell for their own writings in the second half of the fourteenth century. Other fragments are only related to Helgafell on the basis of palaeographic similarities: the fragment AM 229 III fol. contains a redaction of *Stjórn* I, which refers only indirectly to a common archetype shared with the Helgafell codex AM 226 fol.[15] Even the version of *Maríu saga* transmitted in the fragments AM 240 IX fol., AM 240 VIII fol. (both DAM), & LBS, Lbs fragm 4 is unrelated to the same saga found in the aforementioned Helgafell codex AM 233 a fol.[16] A similar difference in textual redactions also applies to the kings' saga fragment DAM, AM 325 XI 2 d 4to (Codex Resenianus) and the manuscript DAM, AM 53 fol., which were written by the single scribe H Res 1 in *c.* 1400 and *c.* 1375–1400, respectively.[17] The former is textually related to the Helgafell-internal kings' saga fragment DAM, AM 73 b fol. (Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi) written by the scribe H Hel 1, but no further content of Codex Resenianus or AM 53 fol. connects H Res 1 with Helgafell. As with AM 325 XI 2 0 4to & AM 325 XI 2 p 4to and Tómasskinna above, the textual content of Codex Resenianus suggests that the scribe H Res 1 borrowed texts from Helgafell for his own writings.

Of all external fragments and manuscripts, only the *Maríu saga* fragment AM 240 IX fol., AM 240 VIII fol., & Lbs fragm 4 include historiated illuminations, which, apart from the palaeographic similarities, offer a distant interpictorial link to manuscripts from the wider Helgafell network: in AM 240 IX fol., a marginal drawing depicts Giraldus in his act of suicide, with a banner over his mouth that indicates the call *mea culpa* (Figure 209). According to Gonzalo de Berceo's *Miracles of the Virgin*, which indeed was also translated and incorporated into the previously mentioned *Maríu saga*, Giraldus is a pilgrim who kills himself after being duped by the Devil into sleeping with a concubine.[18] He is resurrected by the Holy Virgin after he confesses his sins. Both the placement in the lower margin and the banner above the unfortunate man are otherwise found only in the Helgafell-external law manuscript SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to in medieval Iceland (see Figure 99, above). As discussed in Chapter 3, the very same manuscript is iconographically closely related to the Helgafell-internal law codex SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók). But also in general terms, the depiction of Giraldus, a religious figure who otherwise hardly features in medieval art, is well in line with the

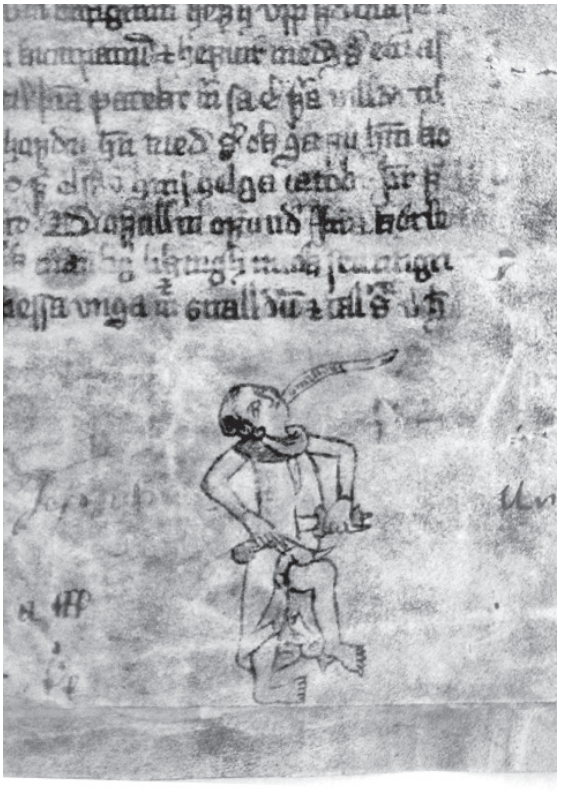

Figure 209. 'Giraldus', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM 240 IX fol., f. 9r. 1350–1400. Picture by Beeke Stegmann using a Multi-Spectral Scanner. Reproduced with permission.

11 *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 1107–08.

12 *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 770–72. For the dating of GKS 1008 fol. (Tómasskinna), see Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 18.

13 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 21.

14 *Mariu saga*, ed. by Unger, p. xxix.

15 *Stjórn*, ed. by Astås, I, p. cxxi.

16 *Mariu saga*, ed. by Unger, p. xxiii.

17 *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 1005; Kålund, *Katalog*, I, 37 and 566.

18 *Gonzalo de Berceo and the Latin Miracles of the Virgin*, ed. by Robert Boenig and Patricia Timmons, p. 22.

unusual imagery coming out of Helgafell, as manuscripts such as AM 226 fol. and AM 233 a fol. also display iconographic models otherwise unknown. The figural style of AM 240 IX fol. is not strongly related to any of these internal manuscripts and this therefore strengthens its external status.

All further manuscripts and fragments listed in Tables 2 and 3 have one or another textual or iconographic connection to one of the internal Helgafell manuscripts, as shown in Chapter 3. Some iconographic or textual relationships of these codices are particularly close to internal manuscripts written by the main scribe from Helgafell, H Hel 1. Key examples are the two mentioned law manuscripts Svalbarðsbók and GKS 3269 b 4to, both of which were used as iconographic or textual models for Skarðsbók. Other examples are the kings' saga manuscript SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), which has been co-written and painted by Magnús Þórhallsson, illuminator of the Helgafell codex AM 226 fol. and single hand of SÁM, AM 139 4to, the latter being a faithful copy of the *Jónsbók* section of Skarðsbók. In addition, the manuscript DAM, AM 225 fol. appears to be a close textual copy of AM 226 fol. In addition to the text, AM 225 fol. shows a number of stylistic and iconographic similarities with its textual model. The illuminator of AM 225 fol., A Hel 4, has been recognized as having also illuminated the *Sequentiarium* fragment LBS, JS fragm 13,[19] although the scribe of that fragment has not been identified as of yet (Figure 210; for comparison see Figure 57, above). However, since AM 225 fol. and JS fragm 13 share no known personal contact with any craftsmen from Helgafell, they may be considered simply part of the wider network of the western Icelandic Augustinian congregation.[20]

Some of these external manuscripts are not related to each other at all. This is exemplified by GKS 3269 b 4to and SÁM, AM 168 a 4to: both relate only very distantly to a similar archetype of *Jónsbók*,[21] and their iconographic content also differs significantly from it. Despite the fact that all of these external manuscripts are related to codices from Helgafell, they were not written or illuminated at the same places. Rather, they were produced independently in the vicinity of the Augustinian house or, more accurately, were made as part of the wider personal network surrounding the main scribe of Helgafell, H Hel 1. It is worth noting that the size and mise-en-page of these external manuscripts is somewhat

Figure 210. 'St Peter', Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Íslands, JS fragm 13, f. $1^{r8–10}$. 1400. Picture from https://handrit.is. Photo: Landsbókasafn Íslands, reproduced with permission.

related in terms of their content to the codices from Helgafell (see Table 1 and Table 3). Thus, apart from Flateyjarbók, which was commissioned for private use by a client from outside of Helgafell, only AM 225 fol. is considerably larger in size than the other codices. That manuscript was clearly produced for an ecclesiastical institution: both its textual and iconographic content suggests a similar use as its model AM 226 fol. from Helgafell. This also applies to the second work by the illuminator of AM 225 fol., the *Sequentiarium* fragment JS fragm 13. All other codices listed above contain the law book *Jónsbók* and were thus of use mostly for secular clients outside of Helgafell. The general size of legal manuscripts from medieval Iceland suggests that, in comparison with other vernacular Icelandic works written at the same time, they are directly linked to a daily use in legal actions.[22]

The secular content of the historiated book painting in these legal codices strongly supports this assumption. As also the number and stylistic quality of these secular illuminations is equal to ecclesiastical manuscripts, it may be concluded that legal and ecclesiastical literature was equally embellished with historiated illuminations in the fourteenth century at Helgafell. This is also well supported by the manuscripts that belong to the internal workshop at the Augustinian house and that were written by its main scribe, H Hel 1. This hand belonged to a skilled and trained scribe who was educated at a professional scribal establishment. As Stefán

19 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', p. 24.
20 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 50.
21 *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. xli.
22 Már Jónsson, 'The Size of Medieval Icelandic Legal Manuscripts', p. 27.

Karlsson has shown,[23] the writing habits of H Hel 1 change over time. Similarly, the size and mise-en-page of those manuscripts written by that scribe change over time, as indicated in Table 1.

Most of the largest manuscripts written by H Hel 1 were produced for internal use. Examples are the first production unit of the saints' sagas manuscript AM 233 a fol., which was in the possession of Helgafell some few decades after its production,[24] and the saints' saga codex SÁM, AM 239 fol., which indicates ownership by the Augustinian house of canons regular by *c.* 1400.[25] The previously mentioned manuscript AM 226 fol. is another likely candidate for internal use, due to the instructive character of its illuminations and its textual content. Other manuscripts suggest from their secular content that they were produced for external customers, notably the law manuscript Skarðsbók. It is known that some of these codices were written in the near vicinity of the monastery with contemporaneous contributions by H Hel 1.

During the 1370s, the scribe H Hel 1 seems to have travelled not only around the Breiðafjörður region to contribute to the bishops' saga codex KB, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 and the law manuscript Belgsdalsbók, but also abroad: It has been suggested that the latest production unit in the law codex KB, MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34 was indeed written in Norway, due to the Norwegian texts used by H Hel 1 for this production unit and its Norwegian rubricator.[26] Given that *Hirðskrá* and the law amendments written by H Hel 1 in MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34, are not related to the same text sections in Skarðsbók, this appears likely, as otherwise similar textual models may have been used at Helgafell.[27] At the same time, the contemporaneous contribution to Belgsdalsbók made by H Hel 1 suggests a personal connection to its main scribe H Hel 8, who was indeed in Norway ten years earlier.[28] Shortly after the writing of MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34, H Hel 1 worked on the remaining four manuscripts and fragments: AM 325 X 4to & AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to (both DAM), AM 219 fol. (SÁM, AM 219 fol., JS fragm 5, Lbs fragm 6 (both LBS), Reykjavík, Þjóðminjasafn, Þjms 176, & SÁM, SÁM 2), Bæjarbók á Rauðasandi, discussed above, and SÁM, AM 383 IV 4to.

None of these later productions offers any information about their original audience, but due to their similar varieties in size and general mise-en-page to earlier manuscripts, it appears unlikely that the mode of production changed over time when H Hel 1 was active at Helgafell. Apart from AM 383 IV 4to, the latest fragment, all manuscripts are of a similar size (*c.* 300 × 250 mm) and mise-en-page in terms of the number of columns. In conclusion, the vital exchange with external scriptoria at Helgafell described here is primarily seen in an exchange of texts: MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, Svalbarðsbók, Belgsdalsbók, and GKS 3269 b 4to all provide sagas and juristic texts related to AM 219 fol., AM 383 IV 4to, and Skarðsbók from Helgafell. Other texts, such as the recensions of the sagas in AM 226 fol., AM 233 a fol., or AM 325 X 4to & AM 325 VIII 3 a 4to are otherwise unknown and suggest that the rewriting of the featured texts took place at Helgafell when or before these manuscripts and fragments were written. Due to the uniqueness of these saga versions, it is likely that Helgafell remained a centre for innovative saga writing, as it had been during the thirteenth century. Furthermore, equally innovative, the Augustinian house established a unique place for illuminated manuscript production.

Apart from AM 239 fol., which was co-written by the scribe H Hel 7, none of the manuscripts by H Hel 1 include major scribal hands. The first production unit of AM 233 a fol. includes rubrics that were potentially written by the illuminator A Hel 2, who also acted as the main illuminator of the same codex. In addition, the section of MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34 written by H Hel 1 also contains rubrics from the otherwise unknown, potentially Norwegian, scribe H Hel 14. For Skarðsbók and AM 226 fol., however, H Hel 1 contributed the rubrics himself. While adding the rubrics to these two codices, H Hel 1 seems to have collaborated with the illuminators as their historiated book painting indicates an advanced understanding of the main text and rubrics. AM 225 fol., the textual copy of AM 226 fol., includes different rubrics to its model. These rubrics were contributed by an otherwise unknown scribe,[29] who was likely A Hel 4, the illuminator of that codex and the *Sequentiarium* fragment JS fragm 13.

All manuscripts written by H Hel 1 in the 1360s provide evidence for a short-lived artistic centre at Helgafell. During that time, the illuminator A Hel 3 contributed the John the Baptist, Elizabeth, and Zacharias-miniature on f. 1^{r} of AM 233 a fol., but seems to have had no contact with Helgafell otherwise. Due to stylistic similarities in the earliest production unit of SÁM, AM 673 a III 4to (Íslenska

23 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. 19–21; Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', pp. 347–49.
24 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 170.
25 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, p. 22.
26 Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', p. 349.
27 Stefán Karlsson, 'Helgafellsbók í Noregi', p. 349.
28 Stefán Karlsson, 'Lovskriver i to lande'.
29 *Alexanders saga*, ed. by Jón Helgason, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

Teiknibókin) from the Benedictine monastery at Þingeyrar, the same illuminator was possibly in contact with that northern Icelandic workshop. The illuminator A Hel 2, who worked at Helgafell for a much longer time, seems to also have written all rubrics in AM 233 a fol. and contributed all the book painting for the first production unit, in *c.* 1360, once the main text was finished by the scribe H Hel 1. Shortly after that production, another illuminator, A Hel 1 (the 'Helgafell Master'), also worked at Helgafell with H Hel 1 on the law manuscript Skarðsbók. This craftsman used a number of ornamental models and the sketch of an iconographic image of the Calvary group otherwise known from SÁM, GKS 3270 4to, which was produced some ten years earlier, in *c.* 1350. From this workshop, the 'Helgafell Master' might also have encountered a related iconographic model from Bergen, Norway: the Calvary group miniature in the second production unit of the Norwegian *missale* fragment DAM, AM 733 4to. In addition, the Norwegian fragment includes a Bible text that was used for the compilation of several vernacular law manuscripts featuring *Jónsbók*, such as Skarðsbók and GKS 3270 4to.[30] A certain textual and iconographic connection between the Norwegian workshop responsible for the second part of AM 733 4to and the work surrounding the 'Helgafell Master' thus seems to be plausible. Although the 'Helgafell Master' only illuminated Skarðsbók, he shared a number of ornamental models with the Helgafell illuminator A Hel 2, who contemporaneously with Skarðsbók painted the first production unit of AM 239 fol. at Helgafell. In the same codex, he may have worked together with A Hel 8 on the only historiated initial on f. 2^{v1-8}. As discussed above, A Hel 8 is the illuminator of the first part of the Helgafell-related law manuscript Belgsdalsbók. This mode of exchange of iconographic and ornamental models was not exclusive to Helgafell in the 1360s, since the book painting of the bishops' sagas MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 is related to the previously mentioned works of the 'Helgafell Master' and A Hel 2. Accordingly, the sole illuminator of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, A Hel 6, may also be found in the second production unit of AM 239 fol., and he seems to share a related training with the two illuminators from Helgafell, the 'Helgafell Master' and A Hel 2.[31]

In the following decade, *c.* 1370–80, only the second production unit of AM 233 a fol., a section written exclusively by the scribe H Hel 2, was illuminated (and most likely rubricated) by the illuminator A Hel 2. The production of this part of AM 233 a fol. most likely took place outside Helgafell, since the style and use of iconographic images of the illuminator working there at the time, Magnús Þórhallsson, is barely related to A Hel 2. The working modes of Magnús are indeed much more closely related to those of the 'Helgafell Master', despite a temporal difference of some ten years between their works: Skarðsbók was completed in 1363, while the book painting of AM 226 fol., the earliest work by Magnús, was not started before the main text and rubrics were finished by the scribe H Hel 1 in *c.* 1370.[32] Nevertheless, Magnús knew the works of the scribe of Belgsdalsbók, H Hel 8: in particular the first unit of that manuscript, which was finished in *c.* 1350. It contains, among other things, several iconographic models known otherwise only from the textual model of Skarðsbók, which is the law manuscript Svalbarðsbók. Magnús was evidently familiar with Svalbarðsbók, too, as he made use of a Romanesque ornamentation in his law manuscript AM 139 4to, a faithful copy of Skarðsbók that he wrote and partly illuminated in *c.* 1400.

Even though Svalbarðsbók appears to be one of the main textual models for Skarðsbók, no iconographic concordances are found in the two law manuscripts. Due to this disparity, the 'Helgafell Master' must have contributed the book painting to Skarðsbók at a time when Svalbarðsbók was taken away from the scribal desks at Helgafell for further copying. In 1370 and with his work in AM 226 fol., Magnús encountered iconographic models from Norway and East Anglia. Since some of these models are not found in the book painting of the two earlier illuminators from Helgafell, the 'Helgafell Master' and A Hel 2, it is likely that they came to Helgafell in 1370, while the scribe H Hel 1 may have remained in Norway to write Part III of the law manuscript MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34. But since this section of MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34 is barely illuminated, it is impossible to verify that the iconographic models used by Magnús came to Helgafell via the scribe H Hel 1 directly. Either way, some of the texts written and all illuminations painted by Magnús in the last decade of the fourteenth century remain textually and artistically related to Helgafell: while the kings' saga codex SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók), from *c.* 1387–94, shares iconographic and ornamental models with AM 226 fol. and other manuscripts from Helgafell, it is AM 139 4to that appears to be most closely related to the working modes at Helgafell in the early 1360s when Skarðsbók was written and illuminated.

30 Schnall, 'Recht und Heil', pp. 87–88.

31 Liepe, *Studies*, p. 51.

32 *Gyðinga saga*, ed. by Wolf, pp. xviii–xix.

In conclusion, the scribe H Hel 1 was without doubt a central scribe at Helgafell during the second half of the fourteenth century. In the 1360s, illuminators such as the 'Helgafell Master' and A Hel 2 worked with him on Skarðsbók, the first section of AM 233 a fol., and AM 239 fol. During the same decade, H Hel 1 seems to have been travelling around Breiðafjörður, since two short additions made to MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 suggest his interaction with the three scribes that were working on that codex at that time. In addition, the 'Helgafell Master' and A Hel 2 were clearly in contact with that scriptorium, because their style is connected to the sole illuminator of MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, A Hel 6. By 1370, the 'Helgafell Master' and A Hel 2 appear to have left Helgafell, since no later manuscript from that site features their work. This change might have happened due to a journey made by H Hel 1 at that time, as he probably worked on MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34 in western Norway. Due to some of the law amendments referring to Bergen, the writing may well also have happened there. Upon his return to Helgafell, the book painting in manuscripts and fragments written by H Hel 1 changes radically: only AM 226 fol., illuminated by Magnús Þórhallsson, indicates a continuing contact between the Helgafell scribe H Hel 1 and illuminators. Otherwise, all later codices and fragments display a reduced form of book painting and contain comparatively simple *fleuronnée* ornamentation of single-coloured minor initials, all of which is likely to be the work of H Hel 1 alone.

The size and mise-en-page of all codices and fragments written by H Hel 1 vary with this development, though not as much in terms of their textual content: the earlier manuscripts such as the first production unit of AM 233 a fol., Skarðsbók and AM 226 fol. are much larger than later codices and they show more elaborated book painting and a highly complex textual content. Later codices, such as AM 219 fol. (with all related fragments), contain — despite extensive textual content — much less or no illumination. This leads to the conclusion that the textual content in manuscripts written by H Hel 1 is less connected to their mise-en-page. The possible journey that H Hel 1 made to Norway might well have brought several new iconographic impulses to Helgafell, but it had less of an effect on the layout and writing. On the contrary, with the end of the 1370s, illuminators seem to have ceased collaboration with the scribe entirely.

H Hel 2, the second supposed main scribe of the Helgafell group, has a much more limited œuvre, although this is not reflected in the general size of manuscripts and fragments by that hand, as they vary during his scribal activity in *c.* 1350–75 (see Table 1, above). Despite the different sizes of these manuscripts, only a limited number of the manuscripts and fragments written by H Hel 2 were illuminated. Yet, the large number of spaces left empty suggests that the intention was that they were to be illuminated later. Since most of the rubrics were also omitted, a separation of labour was intended, similar to that in some of the codices written by the scribe H Hel 1: while the scribe was responsible for the main texts, the illuminator seems also to have been responsible for writing the rubrics.

The texts written by H Hel 2 offer little agreement with texts used by H Hel 1. In fact, the only manuscripts that share a textual link are the saints' saga codices SÁM, AM 653 a 4to & LBS, JS fragm 7 and SÁM, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis), which were written by H Hel 2, and the first production unit of SÁM, AM 239 fol. by H Hel 1. As Table 1 shows, the relevant part in AM 239 fol., featuring *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*, has been dated to a time between the two manuscripts that were written by H Hel 2. The overall arrangement of the saga in AM 239 fol. indicates that a related textual structure of the respective text was also used in the slightly later Codex Scardensis rather than the earlier AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7. Due to the related mise-en-page, H Hel 2 must have known the textual structure of this part of AM 239 fol. while writing Codex Scardensis, and therefore he must have had some personal contact with Helgafell. This would have occurred during the 1360s, a decade in which the scribe H Hel 1 does seem to have been travelling around the Breiðafjörður area.

The law manuscript AM 156 4to, which is somewhat related to the text of the law manuscript SÁM, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók) and was written by H Hel 2 in *c.* 1350–60, is another example of how different redactions of texts were used by H Hel 1 and H Hel 2. Svalbarðsbók was used as one of several models for Skarðsbók by H Hel 1 in the early 1360s, which was some ten years later than the production of AM 156 4to. Yet, the reduced textual content in AM 156 4to as regards the *Jónsbók* law, and since Skarðsbók offers a much more extended textual setting, makes them hardly comparable.

No other manuscript written by H Hel 2 has a textual relationship to manuscripts or fragments used or written by H Hel 1. Thus, since no direct personal contact existed between the two scribes, it is unlikely that they even originated from the same scriptorium. This is reflected in the scribal training of H Hel 2, which was conducted outside of Helgafell, as evidenced by the different orthography of H Hel 1: H Hel 2 appears to be related to the somewhat earlier hand H Hel 13, rather than to H

Hel 1 or to any other scribes from Helgafell. H Hel 13 was responsible for the kings' saga codex DAM, AM 68 fol. and the *Snorra Edda* manuscript SÁM, GKS 2367 4to (Konungsbók Snorra-Eddu), both of which were written in the first half of the fourteenth century.[33] Not surprisingly, a textual relationship to AM 68 fol. is reflected in the kings' saga manuscript DAM, AM 61 fol., which was written (mainly) by H Hel 2 in *c.* 1350.[34] The same textual relationship for this kings' saga, *Óláfs saga helga*, is not found in any of the kings' saga fragments written by H Hel 1. At the same time, no indication exists that the single illuminator known to have worked on AM 68 fol. was in contact with the site at which H Hel 2 worked, since the book painting of AM 68 fol. is little related to manuscripts written by H Hel 2.[35] Finally, a half-uncial 'e' of H Hel 2 appears to be similar to the corresponding orthographical detail of the scribe H Hel 8,[36] the main hand of SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók), which was most likely produced in the vicinity of Helgafell in *c.* 1350–70. Thus, no single manuscript stemming from, or even attached to, Helgafell provides evidence for a direct personal contact between H Hel 1 and H Hel 2. The only contact that existed between these two scribes is found in the use of a similar textual model of *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs*, which is found in AM 653 a 4to & JS fragm 7 and Codex Scardensis by H Hel 2 and in the first production unit of AM 239 fol. by H Hel 1. But since a similar situation surrounds the textual models used by scribes only indirectly related to H Hel 2, such as the kings' saga *Óláfs saga helga* in the fragments AM 325 XI 2 o 4to & AM 325 XI 2 p 4to, this is hardly an argument for the theory that H Hel 1 and H Hel 2 worked together at the same place. In addition, in contrast to H Hel 1, the interaction of H Hel 2 with other scribes is strikingly limited: H Hel 2 worked for the most part independently during his time of activity in *c.* 1350–75, and only in the latter years of his scribal activity did he collaborate with other scribes in his final two manuscripts, Codex Scardensis and the second production unit of AM 233 a fol. Apart from H Hel 11, the second main hand in Codex Scardensis, and H Hel 3, who contributed a couple of lines to the same codex, no other hand is included in manuscripts written by H Hel 2.

Of all the manuscripts written by H Hel 2, only the two latest ones, Codex Scardensis and AM 233 a fol., contain elaborate book painting. Both are outcomes of different work settings: the earlier one, Codex Scardensis from *c.* 1370, shows mostly the work of A Hel 5, an illuminator who shares few stylistic and iconographic traits with any illuminators associated with H Hel 1 from Helgafell. Quite the contrary, this illuminator was possibly commissioned for the task from another nearby workshop, which could well have been in Barðastrandasýsla to the north of Breiðafjörður (see Map 2). This is supported by an ornamented main initial in Codex Scardensis which offers close stylistic resemblances to the kings' saga manuscript DAM, AM 45 fol. (Codex Frisianus), which is a manuscript belonging to that group.[37] The minor book painting in Codex Scardensis is more closely related to the saints' saga codex AM 653 a 4to, a manuscript discussed above which was written some ten to twenty years earlier by H Hel 2. Since also the few remaining illuminations in the contemporaneously written law manuscript AM 156 4to are stylistically related to the minor book painting in AM 653 a 4to and Codex Scardensis,[38] it might well be that the scribe H Hel 2 himself was responsible for all minor book paintings in these three codices, and also for the minor initials found in the later manuscripts and fragments written by H Hel 1 in *c.* 1370–90. Thus, the separation of labour regarding the production of Codex Scardensis suggests that A Hel 5 was hired specifically for this job, maybe together with H Hel 11, the second main scribe of this impressive saints' sagas manuscript.

The second production unit of AM 233 a fol., which is the final manuscript written by H Hel 2 in *c.* 1375, was produced in yet another personal setting: the illuminator (and possibly rubricator) is indeed A Hel 2 from Helgafell. The iconographic and ornamental models used for this part of AM 233 a fol. appear to be similar to his earlier works, and it is likely that a related work setting was used. This could possibly be because H Hel 1 was absent from Helgafell in *c.* 1370 when AM 233 a fol. was produced. Nevertheless, the working modes of the scribe H Hel 2 differ significantly from those of H Hel 1. Apart from the rather large kings' saga codex AM 61 from *c.* 1350, only the last writing period of H Hel 2 around *c.* 1370 indicates that he was working at an elaborate scribal centre. This can be discerned because only Codex Scardensis and the part of AM 233 a fol. contain historiated initials and a much more advanced book painting than do his

33 *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, ed. by Jón Helgason and Johnsen, II, 893; *The Great Sagas*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, p. 12.

34 Ólafur Halldórsson, *Helgafellsbækur fornar*, pp. 22 and 18.

35 For a short discussion on the book painting in AM 68 fol., see Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 217–20.

36 *Jónsbók*, ed. by Ólafur Halldórsson, pp. xliii–xliv.

37 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 183–242; Drechsler, 'Illuminated Manuscript Production', pp. 181–82.

38 Liepe, *Studies*, pp. 167–68.

earlier manuscripts and fragments. In addition, also the size and general layout of these two manuscripts indicate a change in work habits, probably even a change of workplace. The surprisingly limited personal, textual, and artistic contacts between H Hel 2 and scribes and illuminators associated with H Hel 1 at Helgafell lead to the conclusion that H Hel 2 did not work at Helgafell itself, but rather in the vicinity of the Augustinian house.

Nevertheless, contact between Helgafell and H Hel 2 did exist in the form of the exchange of texts in *c.* 1350–70 and the appearance of the minor scribe H Hel 3 in manuscripts from both workshops: annotations made by H Hel 3 are found in the margins of both Skarðsbók, written by H Hel 1, and in Codex Scardensis, written mainly by H Hel 2. In addition, the collaboration of both of these scribes with the illuminator A Hel 2 indicates contact established within a shared milieu. At the same time, the main illuminator of Codex Scardensis, A Hel 5, seems to have originated from a different workshop, which was likely located in Barðastrandasýsla. The stylistic features of this artist show that they are not closely related to the illuminators who worked at Helgafell, apart from a distant sharing of a figural *Helgafellsstíllinn*. This is also seen in the use of iconographic models: the iconography of St Paul in the *Sequentiarium* fragment LBS, JS fragm 13, with his attribute, the keys to Heaven, is not the same as in Codex Scardensis (see Figure 121 and Figure 210, above).

It remains unclear where the scribe H Hel 2 worked, but at least for Codex Scardensis a possibility appears to be Skarð á Skarðströnd. Skarð is located between Helgafell and Barðastrandasýsla and was home to the famous Skarðverjar, the most powerful family in western Iceland during the late Middle Ages.[39] Already in the late thirteenth century, the judge Þórðr Narfason from Skarð (d. 1308) had economic contact with Helgafell, since he sold fishing rights for the area off Skarð to the religious house on four occasions.[40] Þórðr may have been in contact with the politician and saga-writer Sturla Þórðarson (1214–84) from nearby Hvammur during the *Sturlungaöld* in *c.* 1220–62/64, when Sturla composed most of *Sturlunga saga*.[41] But no scribal links can be established between Þórðr and a scriptorium at Skarð or Helgafell during that time.[42] Ólafur Halldórsson has excluded Skarð as a possible site for manuscript production altogether, due to the primarily ecclesiastical content written by the two scribes H Hel 1 and H Hel 2. On the other hand, this is hardly a convincing argument, since at least one other contemporary ecclesiastical and secular Icelandic workshop also produced both secular and ecclesiastical literature. Secular workshops have been identified in fourteenth-century Iceland before, such as Víðidalstunga, which is a possible production site for at least the first production unit of the Helgafell-related kings' saga manuscript Flateyjarbók. All the same, the most important manuscript group remains the one connected to the so-called Akrarskólinn located at the farm at Stóru-Akrar í Blönduhlíð, near to the Benedictine nunnery at Reynistaður in northern Iceland.[43] This group has been dated to *c.* 1375–1400, and consists of eleven partly illuminated manuscripts and fragments, which comprise two vernacular law manuscripts, as well as codices and fragments that contain legendary sagas and saints' sagas.[44] All of this is indeed similar to the group that has hitherto been suspected to constitute the Helgafell group written by H Hel 1 and H Hel 2.

A tentative relationship between the Skarðverjar and figurative book painting is established through the wider personal network of the same family in the fifteenth century. The grandfather of Björn, the knight and *hirðstjóri* Björn Þorleifsson *ríki* (1408–67) from Skarð á Skarðströnd, had a daughter named Solveig (1450–95). Her lover, Jón Þorláksson *yngri* á Hóli from Bólungavík, was a book painter who rubricated and illuminated the law codex SÁM, AM 351 fol. (Skálholtsbók eldri) in *c.* 1450.[45] The law manuscript itself was probably written some fifty years before in the north of Iceland by an official of Hólar, the priest Steinmóðr Þorsteinsson from Grenjarstaður.[46] Skálholtsbók eldri includes a single main initial at the start of *Jónsbók* (Figure 211) for

39 For a short history of Skarð and the Skarðverjar, see Einar Pétursson, 'Skarð á Skarðströnd'.

40 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, III, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 105, 327, and 633; *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, p. 168.

41 Guðbrandur Vigfússon, 'Prolegomena', pp. c–cvi and cvii–cx.

42 Hermann Pálsson, *Helgafell*, pp. 137 and 141.

43 For the Akrarskólinn group, see Lönnroth, 'Tesen om de två kulturerna', pp. 71–74; Stefán Karlsson, 'Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar', pp. 131–32; *A Saga of St Peter the Apostle*, ed. by Foote, pp. 39–53 and p. 58; Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Úr sögu skinnbóka'; and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, 'Universal History in Fourteenth-Century Iceland', pp. 53–57.

44 For the illuminations in the Akrarskólinn group and related manuscripts, see Selma Jónsdóttir, 'The Illuminations of Helgastaðabók'.

45 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Lýsingar í íslenskum handritum á 15. öld', p. 190. There is some ambiguity as to who exactly Jón Þórláksson was since he had an older brother with the same name. This brother was a prolific scribe who (co-)wrote a number of liturgical manuscripts in the early sixteenth century. On these two craftsmen, see Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Jónar tveir Þorlákssynir'.

46 Stefán Karlsson, 'Hauksnautur', p. 64; Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Lýsingar í íslenskum handritum á 15. öld', pp. 190–93.

which an iconographic model was used that seems to have come from the œuvre of Magnús Þórhallsson from Helgafell. Although the structure of this model may originally have come from the Norwegian workshop responsible for the law manuscript Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus; see Figure 175, above), the general placement of the seated saint, and his weapon reaching out into the margins on the left, suggests a distantly related iconographic model used by Magnús Þórhallsson some 150 years earlier than Skálholtsbók eldri, in DAM, AM 226 fol., and SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók). Magnús altered his own rendition of this iconographic model a total of four times to better fit the respective textual contents (see Figures 63–64 and Figures 68–69, above). It is likely, therefore, that Jón used a similar technique, since the iconography in Skálholtsbók eldri is otherwise unknown, just like the three initials drawn by Magnús.

Jón Þorlákssonyngri á Hóli most likely illuminated Skálholtsbók eldri at Hólar in the north of Iceland. Yet, since his book painting is more closely related to earlier illuminated manuscripts from western Iceland, such as the kings' saga Codex Frisianus from the Barðastrandasýsla group mentioned above,[47] it is likely that the ornamental and iconographic models he used are related to Breiðafjörður rather than to northern Iceland, and that the maternal ties of Solveig indicate contact with Skarð. In either case, the fourteenth-century Codex Scardensis does not include any direct information on its original client, but a church charter on ff. 94^{vb}–95va of the codex, written in 1401 by the priest Eilífr and the scribes H Ska 3–4 (see Table 39, above), proves that the codex was in the possession of the parish church at Skarð by then, and that half of it was given to that church by the owner of Skarð at that time, lawman and *sýslumaðr* Ormr Snorrason (1320–*c.* 1402).[48] The dedication of Codex Scardensis to the parish church at that very same site seems to have been an act of upholding a family tradition: Ormr's parents gave eight mass books and a psalter to the same church in 1351.[49] It is most likely that Ormr ordered Codex Scardensis, and considering the circumstances of the book painting and overall production, it may be possible that the codex was also produced at Skarð. For this, the estate would be a suitable location as a craftsman from Barðastrandasýsla in the north (the illuminator A Hel 5) was involved in the production, and texts related to Helgafell in the south-west

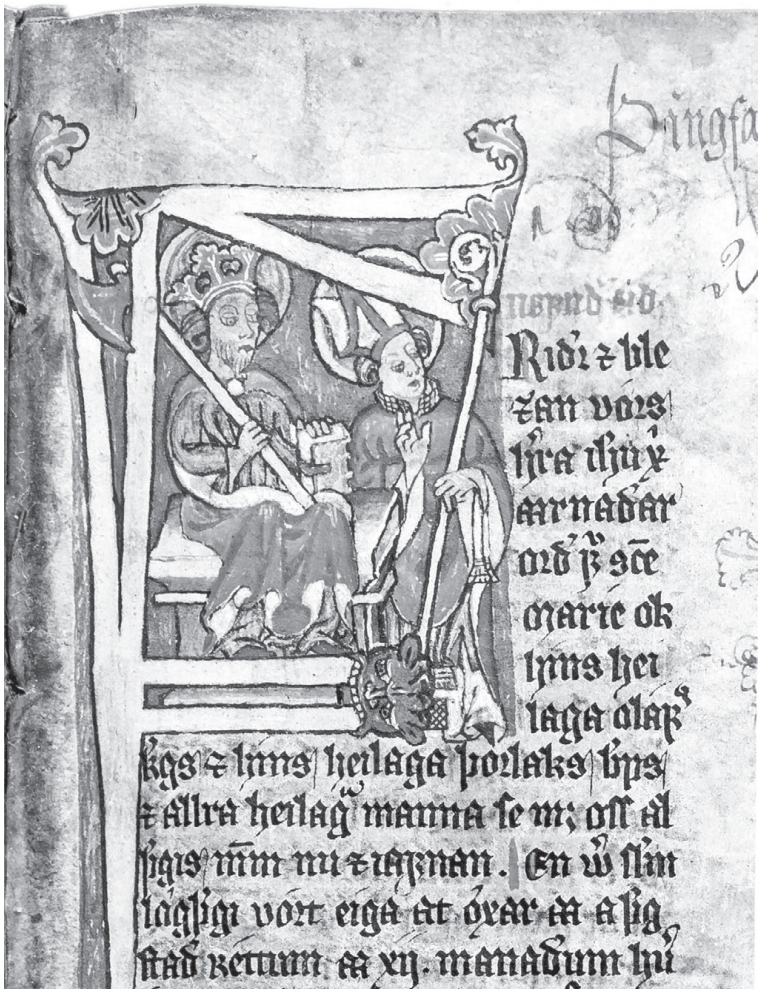

Figure 211. 'Óláfr *helgi* Haraldsson and St Þorlákr', Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, AM 351 fol. (Skálholtsbók eldri), f. 2$^{ra1–9}$. 1450. Picture from https://handrit.is.

(*Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs* from SÁM, AM 239 fol.) and also select stylistic features found in the Helgafell manuscripts. Due to a related redaction of *Tveggja postula saga Jóns ok Jakobs* in Codex Scardensis and AM 239 fol., it is likely that the saint's saga text was in circulation. This is even more likely since H Hel 1 from Helgafell seems to have been travelling around Breiðafjörður at just that time. After this contact was established, the illuminator A Hel 2 collaborated with H Hel 2, but no other manuscript signifies further collaborations between the two workshops. Apart from Codex Scardensis, Ormr Snorrason seems also to have commissioned *Ormsbók, a now lost manuscript that once contained a total of fifteen knights' sagas. The secular content of that codex was assumed to support his world-view as a knight of the Norwegian court.[50] Unfortunately, no information

47 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Lýsingar í íslenskum handritum á 15. öld', pp. 196–98.

48 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 158–59.

49 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, II, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 635–36.

50 Bandlien, 'Arthurian Knights', pp. 21–23.

is known about the layout or book painting of that manuscript, and apart from the circumstances of the production of Codex Scardensis, nothing is known about a scriptorium at Skarð in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, in the decades and centuries following the Black Death in Iceland 1402–04, production of large manuscripts generally took place outside of the monasteries, at workshops located at secular farms.[51] The Skarðverjar were connected in some instances to book production during the late Middle Ages, but most of these particularly large and well-produced manuscripts made for or by members of that family have no known early provenance. Some fifty years after Codex Scardensis was finished, in *c.* 1426–45, KB, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 2, a similarly large and text-extensive saints' saga manuscript, was partly written by Ormr's grandson, the lawman Ormr Loptsson (1400–46).[52] But since Ormr Loptsson lived most of his life in the north of Iceland, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 2 could well also have been written there.[53] Some seventy years later, the early fifteenth-century scribe Þorsteinn Þorleifsson, half-brother of the knight and *hirðstjóri* Björn Þorleifsson (1480–1548) from Reykjahólar in Breiðafjörður, wrote inter alia parts of the lavish saga manuscript SÁM, AM 152 fol. in *c.* 1500–25.[54] The second part of AM 152 fol. was written by yet another half brother of Þorsteinn, Jón Þorgilsson, a steward in the Hólar bishopric and priest at the parish church of Melstaður in northern Iceland.[55] Björn, Þorsteinn, and Jón belonged to the Skarðverjar family, but it remains unknown where exactly AM 152 fol. was written. Nevertheless, the multileveled and complex textual content and the large size of the three codices Codex Scardensis (*c.* 410 × 270 mm), MS Isl. Perg. fol. 2 (*c.* 300 × 235 mm), and AM 152 fol. (*c.* 300 × 240 mm) suggest a similar interest in the production of manuscripts of the Skarðverjar over several generations.

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51 Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, 'Saints and Sinners', p. 190. Due to a great deal of information known about secular workshops, and due to a recognized ability of the aristocracy to read and write in early modern Iceland, Stefán Karlsson, 'The Localisation and Dating of Medieval Icelandic Manuscripts', pp. 146–55, assumed that Iceland had a widespread network of scriptoria located at both secular and monastic institutions in the Middle Ages. Besides Stefán Karlsson, Jonna Louis-Jensen, 'Den yngre del af Flateyjarbók', pp. 249–50, as well as in 'Fra skriptoriet i Vatnsfjörður', also argues that recognized hands do not exclusively speak for a single monastic institution, but can also indicate a scriptorium at a secular estate.

52 *Lives of Saints*, ed. by Foote, pp. 10–11; Stefán Karlsson, 'Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar', p. 138.

53 *Lives of Saints*, ed. by Foote, pp. 10–11.

54 Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir, 'Ideology and Identity', pp. 90–95; Stefán Karlsson, 'Ritun Reykjarfjarðarbókar', p. 137.

55 Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir, 'Ideology and Identity', pp. 90–91.

CONCLUSION

Helgafell and the Wider North-Atlantic World

The Breiðafjörður region was home to three workshops in the fourteenth century, all of which collaborated in one way or another. First and foremost, there is the scriptorium at Helgafell itself, home to the scribes H Hel 1, H Hel 7, and all related illuminators and minor hands. Closely connected to Helgafell is the workshop responsible for the bishops' saga codex KB, MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5. This workshop exchanged both textual and stylistic models with the Augustinian house in the 1360s, in addition to two short scribal contributions made by the Helgafell-internal scribe H Hel 1. A similar situation appears to have been the case with the proposed workshop of the scribe H Hel 2 somewhere in the vicinity of Helgafell, probably at Skarð á Skarðströnd, which was in contact with Helgafell in *c.* 1360–75. This contact was both personal, as the contributions made by the minor scribe H Hel 3 and the Helgafell illuminator A Hel 2 indicate, and based on a sharing of texts, since the saints' sagas SÁM, SÁM 1 (Codex Scardensis) and the vernacular law manuscript SÁM, AM 156 4to written by H Hel 2 draw on texts written or used at Helgafell. Finally, scribes and illuminators of the Barðastrandasýsla manuscript group (see Table 41, above) also collaborated with the two other workshops. A stylistic indication of this fact is seen in a single initial in Codex Scardensis illuminated by A Hel 5, who seems to have belonged to that group or was at least in close contact with that workshop.

This group was active mainly during the first four decades of the fourteenth century, but it is likely that it existed for a longer time and at one time included also an older manuscript group with a similar varied textual content, the Kringla manuscript group (see Table 44, above).[1] The exact place of that scriptorium is unknown, but it is related moreover to MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5, as this codex features, among other hands, a scribe who also wrote parts of the *Sturlunga saga* codex SÁM, AM 122 a fol. (Króksfjarðarbók), which was produced by the Barðastrandasýsla group in *c.* 1350–70 (see Table 41, above).[2] Another connection between Helgafell and Barðastrandasýsla may be found in the earliest provenance of another manuscript from the group from northern Breiðafjörður, the Latin-written theological handbook DAM, AM 671 4to, which was assumed to have been transferred to Helgafell shortly after its completion in *c.* 1340.[3] Furthermore, the saints' saga codex SÁM, AM 399 4to (Codex Resenianus), a Barðastrandasýsla manuscript finished in *c.* 1350,[4] features several textual links to an obituary found in Copenhagen, Københavns Universitetsbibliotek, Membrana Reseiana 6, among other texts. As all other parts of Membrana Reseiana 6, this obituary known as *Helgafellsártíðaskrá* was most likely composed by the saga author and politician Sturla Þórðarson (1214–84) at Staðarhóll in the vicinity of Helgafell (see Map 2).[5] As mentioned in Chapter 2, it is possible that Sturla used for parts of the oldest section up until *c.* 1244 a list that came from Helgafell.[6] If this is correct, then not only direct contact between Helgafell and Barðastrandasýsla was established by the time H Hel 1 contributed his parts to MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 in *c.* 1370; also a distant textual link is visible via the named obituary from Sturla Þórðarson.

Illuminators working at Barðastrandasýsla in the northern part of the Breiðafjörður area do not appear to have shared any iconographic or ornamental models with Helgafell. Artistically, the manuscripts most closely related to Helgafell are the law books GKS 3268 4to and GKS 3270 4to (both SÁM). The two manuscripts were written and illuminated prior to the Helgafell manuscripts in *c.* 1350,[7] but the book painters A Hel 1 (the 'Helgafell Master') and Magnús

1 Drechsler, 'Illuminated Manuscript Production'. For the Kringla group, see Stefán Karlsson, 'Kringum Kringlu'; Stefán Karlsson, 'Davíðssálmar með Kringluhendi'; and Widding, 'Håndskriftanalyser'.

2 *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, pp. xxxix–xli.

3 Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson, 'Voru scriptoria í íslenskum klaustrum?', pp. 184–89.

4 *Guðmundar sögur biskups*, I, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. xli.

5 Stefán Karlsson, 'Alfræði Sturlu Þórðarsonar', p. 54. See also Sverrir Jakobsson, 'Codex Reseniani', with further references.

6 Previously, Gustav Storm in *Islandske Annaler*, pp. v–vi, and Jón Þorkelsson in *Íslenzkar Ártíðaskrár*, pp. 82–83, argued that *Helgafellártíðaskrá* was written entirely at Helgafell. This theory was further developed by Lars Lönnroth in 'Styrmir's Hand' and 'Sponsors, Writers and Readers', pp. 13–14. See also Drechsler, 'Illuminated Manuscript Production', p. 184.

7 *Sagas of Icelandic Bishops*, ed. by Stefán Karlsson, p. 27.

Þórhallsson from Helgafell share iconographic and ornamental models with the two main illuminators from that group, A Ská 1 and A Ská 2. The redaction of the vernacular *Jónsbók* law found in these manuscripts belongs to the oldest known versions of the vernacular Icelandic law, and it differs strongly from the redaction found in the Helgafell law manuscript SÁM, AM 350 fol. (Skarðsbók),[8] for which the 'Helgafell Master' was the sole illuminator.[9]

Little artistic contact seems to have occurred between Helgafell and the Benedictine monastery at Þingeyrar, the second major ecclesiastical production centre for illuminated manuscripts in fourteenth-century Iceland. Even though the scribal and artistic network at Þingeyrar is comparable to Helgafell — an equally large number of scribes and artists of several internal manuscripts worked at Þingeyrar in *c.* 1350 — limited iconographic influences that originate from Þingeyrar are found in manuscripts from Helgafell. Apart from a single miniature illuminated by the otherwise unknown book painter A Hel 3 in the first production unit of DAM, AM 233 a fol., no iconographic models link these two Icelandic centres of book production. Additionally, the working modes of the illuminators seem to have been different at the two sites, since there is less evidence for the initially described technique of interpicturality in the illuminated manuscripts from Þingeyrar. This is particularly puzzling, since at least the first production unit of the only known northern European medieval model book — SÁM, AM 673 a III 4to (Íslenska Teiknibókin) — was indeed produced at that location in the fourteenth century. An example of a rather conservative use of medieval iconography is found in the Throne of Grace in the bible fragment Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Codex Ps. 24 from Þingeyrar, which is comparable to the iconography in the law manuscript Skarðsbók from Helgafell — although the Latin fragment is stylistically somewhat similar — and in the Helgafell manuscript DAM, AM 226 fol. and SÁM, AM 347 fol. (Belgsdalsbók).

Also in textual terms, little contact seems to have occurred between Þingeyrar and Helgafell. Only distant textual relationships are found such as in AM 226 fol. and the Þingeyrar codex SÁM, AM 227 fol., both of which do not go beyond referring to a common archetype of the same main text: select vernacular translations of the Old Testament named *Stjórn*.[10] The first production unit of the kings' saga codex SÁM, GKS 1005 fol. (Flateyjarbók) was possibly produced at Víðidalstunga next to Þingeyrar. Yet, its book painting is related to Helgafell rather than to Þingeyrar. Consequently, Magnús does not seem to have been in direct contact with the illuminators at Þingeyrar. The absence of any iconographic influence from northern Iceland in works made by Magnús also holds true for the Benedictine monastery of Munkaþverá in northern Iceland, where his hand appears in a few lines in the kings' saga codex DAM, AM 66 fol. (Hulda). Considering this, the artistic education of Magnús appears to have been restricted to Helgafell. Even so, due to his contribution to Hulda, Magnús might have started his career as a scribe not at Helgafell, but at Munkaþverá in northern Iceland.

In conclusion, the personal network at Helgafell is first and foremost linked to scriptoria in the Breiðafjörður region, including Barðastrandasýsla, possibly Skarð á Skarðströnd, and various unidentified workshops responsible for manuscripts such as MS Isl. Perg. fol. 5 and the law codices Belgsdalsbók, AM 343 fol. (Svalbarðsbók), AM 168 a 4to, GKS 3270 4to, and GKS 3269 b 4to (all SÁM). A common style of illuminated manuscripts produced in the Breiðafjörður area during the fourteenth century is hardly detectable, as the iconographic and stylistic contents vary between manuscripts and illuminators. The proclaimed *Helgafellsstíllinn*,[11] therefore, is reflected in only a few of these codices. Nevertheless, some do seem to have adhered to a certain style: in Belgsdalsbók by the book painter A Hel 8, the Helgafell works of A Hel 2 (AM 233 a fol. and the first production unit of SÁM, AM 239 fol.), and A Hel 5 responsible for most illuminations in Codex Scardensis, a similar form of slim, slightly backwards-leaning figures with 'peppercorn eyes' is shown, all of whom are clad in simple tunics or robes (see Figure 78, Figure 98, Figure 122, and Figure 133, above). 'Peppercorn eyes' and rather thin figures are also featured in Skarðsbók, which was painted by the 'Helgafell Master'. But the rather simple style of clothing found in the works of A Hel 2, A Hel 8, and A Hel 9 is nowhere found in Skarðsbók. Nevertheless, it may be tentatively concluded that the 'peppercorn eyes' and select ornamental features common to both the 'Helgafell Master' and A Hel 2 may reflect remnants of a Helgafell-specific school in that period *c.* 1350–70 when these two illuminators were active. This style is not regularly found in the book painting of Magnús Þórhallsson, how-

8 Már Jónsson, 'Textatengsl nokkura elstu handrita Jónsbókar', p. 385.

9 As discussed in Chapter 3, it is likely that the initial letters in all manuscripts and fragments written by H Hel 1 were also painted by the scribe himself.

10 *Stjórn*, ed. by Astås, I, p. cxxi.

11 Guðbjörg Kristjánsdóttir, 'Um endurheimta fegurð drottningar', pp. 24–25.

ever, where figures are illuminated in a voluminous fashion and with empty eyes. The style of painting that depicts figures with empty eyes is adapted by the slightly younger book painter A Hel 4 in his two known works DAM, AM 225 fol. and LBS, JS fragm 13 (see Figure 57 and Figure 210, above). By the time Magnús started to work at the same religious house as A Hel 2 and the 'Helgafell Master' in 1370, this form of facial painting had vanished from his desk.

The Helgafell workshop exemplifies that comparably large networks were established for the related scribal and painting tasks for complex manuscripts, such as the law codex Skarðsbók and AM 226 fol. (which featured select vernacular translations of the Old Testament), and that various ornamental and iconographic models were used that originated from outside of Iceland. This is little surprising, as the North-Atlantic isle had both personal and artistic contact with Norway by the time these manuscripts were produced. In Norway, this may have been centred on the single scribe responsible for the Norwegian law manuscripts AM 304 fol., which was evidently exported to the vicinity of Helgafell, AM 60 4to, and AM 322 fol. and for the second production unit of the *missale* fragment AM 733 4to (all DAM). All of these codices were produced in western Norway in *c.* 1320–30.[12] Some thirty years later, during the first ten years after the arrival of the Black Death in Bergen, the same milieu may have been responsible the first production unit of the Norwegian law manuscript Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1154 fol. (Codex Hardenbergianus). This manuscript was written by the scribe H Hel 8, the main hand of the Helgafell-connected Belgsdalsbók. AM 733 4to and Codex Hardenbergianus may feature iconographic models which were in use at Helgafell in *c.* 1360–70 by the three illuminators A Hel 1 (the 'Helgafell Master'), A Hel 2, and Magnús Þórhallsson. This all happened after H Hel 8 returned to Iceland to finish Belgsdalsbók in *c.* 1370. It is very likely that the same scribe brought a model book to Helgafell upon his return, and that this model book was used for Codex Hardenbergianus, Skarðsbók, AM 226 fol., and further related illuminated manuscripts, such as the law codex SÁM, AM 168 a 4to. At the same time, the dating of the first production unit of Belgsdalsbók suggests also that iconographic models used in that law manuscript were used again in a more advanced form in Codex Hardenbergianus some ten years later, and this could be taken to suggest that they were brought to Bergen by the same Icelandic scribe, H Hel 8. During the 1370s, the main scribe from Helgafell, H Hel 1, may also have travelled to Norway when he wrote the third production unit of KB, MS Isl. Perg. 4:o 34 and contributed, besides the Norwegian court law *Hirðskrá*, law amendments specific to the foreign trade of Bergen, among other texts. It remains unknown whether this happened at the same workshop where Codex Hardenbergianus had been completed. All the same, contact between western Norwegian workshops and Helgafell must have already occurred prior to the production of Codex Hardenbergianus, since the same iconographic model from AM 733 4to was possibly already known to the 'Helgafell Master'.

Travelling by scribes from the Helgafell network indicates international working patterns, which is supported by the scribal habits of these hands as they change upon their return to Iceland in the form of adaptations of particular Norwegian orthographic expressions (Norwegianisms). It has been argued that these Norwegianisms entered into the Icelandic manuscripts due to an interest in exporting manuscripts to the Norwegian market.[13] This interest grew after the Black Death had diminished not only the Norwegian clergy in 1348–49, but also reduced the production of domestic art for at least a century.[14] Yet, of the most embellished illuminated Helgafell manuscripts, few seem to have been intended for external use, and even fewer were exported to Norway. Skarðsbók, the most embellished and elaborated of all illuminated manuscripts from medieval Iceland, was clearly intended for the Icelandic aristocracy, first and foremost due to its Iceland-specific textual content. At the same time, Helgafell manuscripts such as AM 226 fol., AM 239 fol., and AM 233 a fol. were likely produced for internal use due to their ecclesiastical textual contents, which were very usable for education within monasteries. Thus, in contrast to previous assumptions, a link between Helgafell book painting and the suggested exportation of Icelandic manuscripts is not found.[15] Norwegianisms were a feature that came to monastic Icelandic scriptoria through their contacts with the diocese of Skálholt, the archdiocese in Niðaróss, and other ecclesiastical institutions in Norway, rather than through the production of manuscripts for the Norwegian

12 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 502.

13 See Stefán Karlsson, 'Islandsk bogeksport til Norge i middelalderen'; Stefán Karlsson, 'Om norvagismer i islandske håndskrifter'; and Ólafur Halldórsson, 'Flutningur handrita'.

14 For this, see van Achen, '"Hanseatic" Art in Late Medieval Bergen', pp. 81–84, and Nordhaugen, 'Das Hanse-Problem in der norwegischen Kunstgeschichte', pp. 53–56.

15 Hermann Pálsson has claimed in *Helgafell*, p. 142, that some of the manuscripts produced at Helgafell were intended for export. But he does not provide any rationale for his claim.

Figure 212. 'Abraham, Isaac and Jacob', Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, AM Acc 7c V, f. 3$^{ra27–30}$. 1350.

market.[16] Still, the Helgafell manuscripts were first and foremost produced either for internal use, or for local aristocrats, such as Ormr Snorrason from Skarð á Skarðströnd in the vicinity of Helgafell with the saints' saga manuscript Codex Scardensis, or Jón Hákonarson from Víðidalstunga in northern Iceland with his kings' saga opus Flateyjarbók. In this regard, the Helgafell manuscripts provide an even more detailed picture of the artistic, religious, and not least literary understanding of the Icelandic society during the fourteenth century.

A contemporaneous historical setting for the establishment of Helgafell book painting may be linked to the internationally educated Dominican Jón Halldórsson (d. 1339), who served as the thirteenth bishop of Iceland's southern diocese of Skálholt in 1322–39, the diocese to which Helgafell belonged. Bishop Jón grew up at the Dominican Order in Bergen and studied theology in Paris and canon law in Bologna before he became bishop of southern Iceland in 1322.[17] A year later, Bishop Jón intervened at Helgafell during his first of four documented travels to the Westfjords, when he used his episcopal authority to appoint a new abbot for the Augustinian house of canons regular.[18] What caused this change of abbots remains unknown. But a number of textual references in a manuscript closely connected to Helgafell, the Latin-written theological handbook DAM, AM 671 4to, as well as the textual model for the Helgafell law codex Skarðsbók, Svalbarðsbók, suggest the influence of Bishop Jón on the manuscript production in western Iceland during his time.[19] Bishop Jón had a particular interest in bringing the Icelandic Church into line with recent developments in Europe, as exemplified inter alia by his *Bannsaknabréf* from 1326, a list of reasons for excommunication.[20] Unfortunately, no manuscript has been found with direct links to Bishop Jón, and no link between the upcoming trend of illuminating manuscripts in western Iceland and Bishop Jón can be established with certainty, as discussed above. Nevertheless, some ten years after the change of abbots at Helgafell, and still during the time of Bishop Jón Halldórsson, the Helgafell-related Svalbarðsbók and SÁM, GKS 3269 b 4to were written and illuminated. These two manuscripts are the earliest to feature vernacular, text-related figural book painting in Iceland, and both had a significant impact upon later productions from Helgafell.

Illuminators at Helgafell made use of a few iconographic topics specific to northern French manuscripts dated to various periods throughout the thirteenth century. The remaining fragments from Norwegian archives provide ample evidence of the import of French manuscripts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[21] but it remains unclear how many of them were transferred to western Iceland. Their influence — first and foremost from illuminated Bibles — is clearly seen in iconographic models used for the book painting of Skarðsbók, AM 226 fol., and the second major work of Magnús Þórhallsson, the kings' saga manuscript Flateyjarbók. This affirmation, a church inventory from 1397, the so-called *Vilchinsmáldagi*, mentions nearly a hundred Latin manuscripts that were part of the Helgafell library, some of which are clearly stated to include Gospels, Graduals, and other Church service-related literature.[22]

It was probably from French manuscripts of the thirteenth century that the interpictorial use of images at Helgafell originated. In fourteenth-century Iceland, the use of interpictorial methods is not restricted to vernacular texts: the fragment DAM, AM Acc 7c V shows that Latin manuscripts also feature similarly

16 Haraldur Bernharðsson, 'Kirkja, klaustur ok norskublandið ritmálsviðmið á Íslandi á miðöldum', pp. 163–66.

17 For the *vita* of Jón Halldórsson, see Gering, 'Vorrede'. For the international education of medieval Scandinavian Dominicans, see Schütz, *Hüter der Wirklichkeit*, pp. 88–92 and 134–40.

18 *Islandske Annaler*, ed. by Storm, p. 346. See also Drechsler, 'Jón Halldórsson and Law Manuscripts'.

19 See Drechsler, 'Jón Halldórsson and Law Manuscripts'.

20 For the content and textual models of the *Bannsaknabréf*, see Vadum, 'Bruk av kanonisk litteratur i Nidarosprovinsen', pp. 396–410, with further references.

21 Myking, 'The French Connection', pp. 130–71; see also Karlsen, 'Liturgiske bøker', pp. 150–62.

22 *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, IV, ed. by Jón Þorkelsson, pp. 170–71.

created historiated initials. Possibly written in the early fourteenth century,[23] this fragment contains parts of a never completed *Biblia Latina*.[24] Folio $3^{ra27–30}$ starts II Macc 1 with the letter to the Jews in Egypt and depicts three figures who are possibly the patriarchs of Judaism: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Figure 212). All three kings are depicted according to their age: Abraham seems to be shown as a seated, elderly king, while Jacob as the youngest stands on the right holding a letter in his hands. The iconography is unusual, since it depicts the three figures not equally seated. Furthermore, the reference to Jacob's letter is likewise an individual feature of this initial. It suggests that Icelandic illuminators also used interpictorial techniques in Latin manuscripts, although this may be confined to prose texts only. An example is the previously discussed liturgical fragment JS fragm 13 from Helgafell, which depicts a seated St Peter with his standard iconography, a large key, at the introduced *Antiphonarium* to the Mass of the same saint.

Latin Bible texts are known to have been used for law manuscripts, such as Skarðsbók and GKS 3270 4to.[25] An interaction between images generated in vernacular manuscripts from Helgafell and Bible texts is thus not only connected to the adoption of biblical imagery, but also to the practice of compiling texts and images for vernacular law manuscripts. Yet, in contrast to the book painters of thirteenth-century France, the illuminators at Helgafell seem to have a profound understanding of the vernacular texts that they were illuminating. This is seen in the fact that these book painters seem in most cases to have written the rubrics themselves, or to have been responsible for longer texts in the same manuscripts, such as the aforementioned scribe and illuminator Magnús Þórhallsson in Flateyjarbók.

No influence of book painting from fourteenth-century France is found in the Helgafell manuscripts after *c.* 1300, which suggests that importation of manuscripts from France ended abruptly around the turn of the fourteenth century, giving way to English art from the early fourteenth century onwards. The influence of such art seems to have come to Iceland via Bergen and the developing fish and *vaðmál* trade in the North Sea area, in which Helgafell seems to have participated.[26] The mention of a Norwegian ship landing at Helgafell in 1348 suggests an economic connection and, in this light, it is probably less surprising that scribes from the wider Helgafell network travelled to Bergen — such as the aforementioned scribe H Hel 8, who wrote most of the Icelandic Belgsdalsbók and the Norwegian Codex Hardenbergianus. Through the work of such Icelandic scribes in Norway, it is likely that iconographic models from England, more specifically from East Anglia, came into the Helgafell area. A single stylistic note in Svalbarðsbók, the conclusive iconographic copy in Belgsdalsbók, and the law manuscript GKS 3268 4to taken together indicate that new trends had arrived in the Breiðafjörður region by *c.* 1340. By 1360, model books from East Anglia were used at Helgafell — this being the time when the illuminator A Hel 2 painted AM 233 a fol., and the 'Helgafell Master' worked on Skarðsbók, the most refined work of all medieval Scandinavian manuscripts. The slightly later book painting by Magnús Þórhallsson in AM 226 fol. and Flateyjarbók provides further evidence for East Anglian iconographic models at Helgafell. Magnús evidently knew iconographic models that have been used for the book painting for previous manuscripts of this international network, such as Belgsdalsbók and Codex Hardenbergianus. In the last decade of the fourteenth century, Magnús wrote the second part of Flateyjarbók and he illuminated the codex at Helgafell, using a number of iconographic models he had either used previously, in AM 226 fol., or that came from earlier manuscripts produced by the wider Helgafell network. Yet, from what the selection of redactions of texts suggests, Magnús seems to have had some contact with northern Iceland, because several of the texts he used for his part of Flateyjarbók indicate that the final compilation of the manuscript at the very end of the fourteenth century took place in the north, not at Helgafell. With the arrival of the Black Death in the early fifteenth century, book production at Helgafell ceased. No known manuscripts were produced at that site after 1402.

23 *Katalog*, ed. by Andersen, p. 88.
24 Marner, 'Väterzitate ond Politik', p. 92.
25 Schnall, 'Recht und Heil', p. 91.
26 Sverrir Jakobsson, 'Frá Helgafellsklaustri til Stapaumboðs', p. 94. For a critical view on the Norwegian monopoly in the northern Atlantic trade in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Boulhosa, *Icelanders and the Kings of Norway*, pp. 132–33.

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